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12 July 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1562

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'POLITIKA' OF BELGRADE ON CURRENT U.S.-SOVIET POLEMICS

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jun 78 p 2 AU

[S.R. commentary: "Great Powers at Variance"]

[Text] Diplomacy is not an exact science, but it has its rules, among which, just as in other human affairs, the unwritten ones are frequently the most important. One of these rules of the ancient skill of negotiating reads that a lasting understanding of partners presupposes common interests between them; a sterile, provocative bickering begins when this basic prerequisite is undermined.

It appears that the U.S.-Soviet diplomatic machinery has recently (or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say in recent years, let us say since Carter's election as President?) stumbled precisely over this. It appears that a certain change has occurred in the evaluation of common interests and, accordingly, also in the fixing of a price for any possible agreements: about strategic arms; on avoiding direct conflicts in the "third world," on opening the western market for the needs of the Soviet economy and so forth.

In the meantime, propagandists have much to do, while the periodic polemical flares which occurred recently also encourage ominous predictions of a resumption of the Cold War or at least of a "lukewarm" war between the West and the East. Naturally, this change is not occurring for the first time, but it always occurs, to put it this way, on a high level: In his irresistible progress the man has progressed from the bow and arrow to the neutron bomb.

Already on this basis, bearing in mind the suicidal arms race, the risk of a political straining of relations is unavoidably increasing. The red-hot rhetoric in the manner of Cold War is accompanied by political, intelligence and military trials. And this, as a rule, is being done on foreign soil or rather on the foreign backs. In this case, judging by the developments in the African "Horn," in Zaire and elsewhere, Africa is the main batterfield and

the main victim. This is certainly not accidental, although it is, at least seemingly, very disputed how this has come about.

The West most frequently proceeds from the conviction that the East, weighing the strength and weakness of the new U.S. helmsman, has come to the conclusion that Carter, because of a relatively narrow political base in the country, has less maneuvering room in foreign policy. He is weaker than his predecessors were, or appears to be. Accordingly, it is an opportunity to do something--particularly in those places, such as Africa, where the conditions have arisen for a bigger political and military involvement of the opposing side on which Cuba is the most active, particularly in the newly liberated African countries and in some liberation movements.

For those who have accepted the current assessment of the Soviet motives without hesitation there also was no dilemma in finding an "answer." Support is being sought and received for an increasingly more resolute intervention of the West in the African countries. Thus, not only U.S. military transports but also the French legionnaires have begun to return to the African arena--not only in Zaire. And this despite the warnings which, according to the latest reports from Africa, are also increasingly more vociferous: that Africa does not want to go either toward the East or toward the West but rather along its own path and that it should be left alone. Africa needs assistance to help it stand on its own feet but not a patronage which threatens to deprive it of its dearly paid freedom.

The Soviet assessment of the straining of relations is, naturally, diametrically different. The intentions which Washington ascribes to it, Moscow detects in the policy of the U.S. administration. Carter's speech in Annapolis--although the White House chief reiterated his readiness for talks and cooperation--is taken as proof that it is precisely the United States which is inclined to a change of the course, of abandoning detente.

In Washington, therefore, those who are the most belligerent, and to whom Carter has also succumbed, have convinced themselves that the USSR, taking everything in consideration, is weaker--particularly in the industrial-technological race--that in relation to its Western rivals it continues to lag behind. Hence the inclination to treat such a partner more "firmly," something that, among other things, is also reflected in the pressure about the human rights and in the deviations from the principled agreements reached by Nixon and Kissinger with whom Moscow found it easier to reach agreement.

Proceeding from such an evaluation of the U.S. intentions, it was easy for the USSR to come to the conclusion that Washington is engaging in impermissible blackmail. People in Moscow have not spared the U.S. President, but they have nevertheless singled out Carter's chief adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, whose statements--made after his recent visit to China--might have sounded anti-Soviet but also were distinctly soft toward Chinese policy.

Thus, the polemic continues but all indications are that what is involved is not a simple return to the relations before detente or a renouncement of detente but rather a struggle for new positions--in the name of detente. It is striking that both sides, although they are making threatening moves, are very careful not to jeopardize the basic mutual interests. For instance, no side rejects the SALT negotiations. On the contrary, both sides are making efforts to continue them. No side questions the interstate and political ties established thus far, and so forth. Does this mean that both sides proceed from the realization that the plans on acquiring military or some other advantage are nonetheless illusory, while that the essential common interests are lasting?

Or is perhaps this a matter of conviction according to which detente, although in principle praised as a universal platform for a harmonious building of the world without military political violence, obligates the leading power in the sense of restraining them from direct mutual conflicts, while everything else, even military involvement in "third countries" or in the struggle for spheres of influence, is subject to no restrictions? In other words, is not the basic trouble the fact that the vital interests of the broader international community and those interests which the "big countries" call their own are at variance: that the world, as a whole, and detente--subordinated to the competition for bloc goals--are at variance?

One should certainly not forget that the relaxation of tension (detente) becomes a political illusion the moment it ceases to be a political obligation for those upon whom the future of world peace depends to the greatest extent.

CSO: 2800

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THIRTY YEARS OF HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY REVIEWED

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 1, 1978 pp 101-109

[Article by Eva Dian (Mrs Gerelyes): "The Hungarian-Romanian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Is Thirty Years Old"]

[Text] The treaty concluded thirty years ago was an important milestone in the development of relations between the two countries. Throughout the many centuries of their history, numerous attempts were made to drive a wedge between the Hungarian and Romanian people. In the years preceding World War II, Hitler's fascism strived to exploit the differences between the two countries, transforming both into bases of operation against the Soviet Union. This policy of adventurism swept both our nations to the edge of disaster. The victorious war against fascism liberated both countries, in the wake of the Soviet Union's military victories.

The new historical situation created by the liberation enabled both countries to undergo social transformation, which meant the defeat of nationalist policy and provided a reliable foundation for the realization of cooperation between the two neighboring nations, for securing the democratic rights of their minorities. Hatred and chauvinism were replaced by a foreign policy of fraternal cooperation.

From the liberation until the conclusion of the friendship treaty, the antifascist and democratic foreign policy between the two countries gradually developed into relations based on socialist principles. In the development of these relations we now wish to recall the principal stages that preceded the conclusion of the friendship treaty. The political development that started after the liberation in Hungarian-Romanian relations sought a mode of reconciliation between the neighboring countries. The new foreign policy was a part of the democratic transformation that ended the rule of the reactionary classes, the oppression and exploitation.

Initial Steps Toward the Establishment of Cooperation

By August 1944, Hitler's coalition collapsed as a result of the series of victories that the Allies and the Soviet Army in particular had scored. Under the conditions of the Soviet Army's successful advance, Romania withdrew

from this coalition. On 23 August, the patriotic forces overthrew the fascist Antonescu government; Romania concluded an armistice with the Soviet Union and turned against Hitler's Germany. In the armistice agreement that Romania and the Soviet Union signed in Moscow on 12 September 1944, Romania undertook to contribute by all means toward victory over fascism. Romanian military units joined the Soviet troops. Fighting side by side with the Soviet troops, Romanian soldiers cleaned up Romania's Transcarpathian part, participated in the liberation of Transylvania and finally contributed to the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. From the viewpoint of military operations, they fought under the command of the Second Ukrainian Front.

Because of the events that took place in Bucharest on 23 August 1944, the Hungarian government under Sztojay broke off diplomatic relations with Romania on 24 August and also suspended telephone and telegraph communications. Thus, Hungary and Romania were in a state of war until 20 January 1945, when the Hungarian Armistice Agreement was signed. A principal task in the first stage of establishing relations and developing cooperation was to liquidate the state of war and to settle disputes.

Romania's participation in Hungary's liberation contributed toward ending finally the enmity that had been generated artificially between the two nations. In most localities, relations between the Romanian soldiers fighting in Hungary and the local population were good. Romanian troops helped to establish the democratic police force and public administration. In several Hungarian cities, the population voluntarily started drives to care for the graves of fallen Romanian soldiers.

In the first statement issued after its formation in December 1944, the Hungarian Provisional National Government regarded as its most urgent task the conclusion of an armistice with the Soviet Union and all the countries with which Hungary was in a state of war, and it strived to establish good neighborly relations and close cooperation with the neighboring democratic countries.

Pursuant to the armistice agreement signed on 20 January 1945, Hungary pledged to withdraw all its troops and officials from the Hungarian-occupied territories of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania, back behind the borders that existed on 31 December 1937. Hungary also pledged to rescind all legislation and public-administration measures concerning the annexation of Czechoslovak and Romanian territories to Hungary. The Allied Powers declared as null and void the Vienna Arbitration that divided Transylvania.

Romania on the Path of Democratic Development

The new historical situation raised numerous new problems between the two countries. The measures adopted by the democratic parties and government of new Romania greatly contributed toward the solution of the Transylvanian problem. Besides the recommendations for the country's democratic transformation, the Romanian CP's draft program of September 1944 emphasized the

rescinding of all legislation aimed against the minorities and proposed a new course of foreign policy. Romania's democratic-minded Hungarians expressed their willingness to cooperate with the country's other democratic forces. The new democratic government headed by Dr Petru Groza came to power on 6 March 1945. Its first measures included the solution of the Transylvanian question, respectively of the Hungarian population's problems. Prime Minister Groza pledged the following in a letter to Marshal Stalin: "The Romanian government and public administration in Transylvania will protect the rights of Transylvania's minorities and will conduct their entire activity on the principles of equality, democracy and justice for the entire population." The Groza government guaranteed the equality of the nationalities and protected them from the excesses of Romanian nationalism. It became increasingly clear to the Hungarian masses in Romania that fraternal rapprochement between the two countries could best be enhanced through more-intensive cooperation with the Romanian people. An important event was the first congress of Romania's Hungarian Popular Federation (with a membership of nearly 500,000) that was held in Cluj in May 1945. Prime Minister Groza also attended the final session of this congress and addressed in Hungarian the audience assembled on Cluj's Sports Square: "I have come here to unfurl the banner of Hungarian-Romanian cooperation We will strive to live peacefully with the neighboring nations, to develop fraternal cooperation between Romania and Hungary Once we abolish the customs barrier and passport formalities, we never again will build a Chinese Wall between the two peoples, the two countries I am confident that also Hungary, imbued by new political thinking, will find the foundations for perfect neighborliness."

Prime Minister Groza expressed these ideas also on several other occasions. In an interview with Hungarian reporters in the autumn of 1945, he emphasized: "The fate of both the Hungarian and the Romanian people will depend on their ability to remain loyal friends living side by side On the Hungarian question I will not shrink from any measures. Not even from measures that many regard as radical I do not fear a customs union, the dismantling of customs barriers. Nor am I afraid to let people without passports cross from our side in Hungary and from there into Romania. I will not shrink from the abolition of passports. Nor from a federation that, in my opinion, would benefit Romania and the Romanian people just as much as it would Hungary and the Hungarians."

The idea of a customs union long engrossed the attention of both countries' politicians and public opinion. In a subsequent statement, made at the time of the negotiations preceding the friendship treaty, Jozsef Revai said: "We are striving to develop closer relations with our democratic neighbors. With the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance we wish to enhance the ties of Hungarian-Romanian economic cooperation, but economic cooperation between our two nations cannot be immediately the start of a customs union."

The securing of the minorities' rights was one of the principal ambitions of the democratic forces in Romania after the liberation. A Minority

Statute was enacted whose principles include equality under the law, free use of one's language in private and public life, the banning of discrimination, the outlawing of the dissemination of hatred and contempt, the right of every citizen to speak his mother tongue, and freedom to determine one's own nationality. The regulations prescribed that in areas where minorities comprise at least 30 percent of the population, public-administration and court officials must speak the minority language, accept petitions and applications in that language, and hear the parties in their mother tongue.

Formation of the Groza government represented a new stage in the life of the Hungarians in Romania. The first actions of this government included the freeing of unjustly interned Hungarians, and the practical implementation of the Minority Statute. The agrarian reform ensured land also for the Hungarian peasants. By supporting the state-recognized and state-financed Hungarian elementary and secondary schools, and higher educational institutions, the government strived to provide instruction in their native language for the children of the Hungarian minority. A Hungarian-language university was founded in Cluj, with the following faculties: philosophy, law and economics, natural sciences, medicine and pharmacy. Hungarian state theaters and a conservatory were opened. Many Hungarian books and publications appeared. Parallel with the democratization of the state apparatus, the number of Hungarians active or employed in public life also increased.

Development of Relations

After the liberation, Hungarian-Romanian relations developed parallel with the strengthening of democracy in the two countries. Although the two countries were unable to regulate their international relations independently until the Peace Treaty was signed, their mutual relations developed favorably through 1945. Most of the initiative came from the Romanian side, and in this Prime Minister Groza had a lion's share, using every forum to express his willingness to cooperate. Referring to Groza's statements, Hungarian Foreign Minister Janos Gyongyosi said: "The Hungarian government greatly appreciates the Romanian government's initiative and will avail itself of the opportunities to establish good relations." In SZABAD NEP, the official organ of the Hungarian CP, Jozsef Revai praised the Romanian rapprochement: "Romanian chief of state Petru Groza has extended his fraternal right hand to Hungary."

The first agreement of a political nature between Hungary and Romania was signed in Budapest, on 17 October 1945. According to this agreement, the two governments pledged to exchange or extradite war criminals. An early date in the regulation of relations was 28 July 1945, when representatives of the two countries' armies met in the border guards' barracks in the village of Artand, to discuss timely questions in conjunction with guarding the border.

Economic Relations

Economic cooperation likewise began much sooner with Romania than with the other neighboring countries. The explanation of this is the fact that from World War I to World War II the turnover of foreign trade between the two countries was significant. In this period Hungary obtained from Romania about 50 to 60 percent of its lumber import, all of its salt import, and a substantial volume of crude oil, 200,000 to 250,000 tons a year. Within Hungary's export to Romania, metallurgical products (rolled steel and pipe) accounted for 40 to 50 percent; the rest consisted of machinery and light-industry products. After the liberation, mutual trade started fairly early, in the form of smaller compensation deals, in which also the still privately owned companies and enterprises participated. The first provisional barter agreement was signed in July 1945. This agreement called for the exchange of commodities for which the other country had the greatest demand, and in which the supplying country had suitable surpluses. Hungary received from Romania glass, logs, salt, lubricants, lumber and ceramics, in exchange for Hungarian pharmaceuticals, aluminum and lumber-industry equipment. Later on Hungary received building materials from Romania, in exchange for finished and semifinished products, farm and forestry machinery, and farm products. These deliveries enabled the two countries to help each other in overcoming the difficulties caused by the devastations of war, and to start reconstruction. Pursuant to the foreign-trade agreement concluded in April 1946, 50 percent of Hungary's export to Romania consisted of farm products, because Romania was plagued by severe droughts in those years. In addition, Hungary's export included indispensable equipment for the Romanian petroleum industry, also aluminum, minerals, electric bulbs, medical equipment, pharmaceuticals, paints and dyes, and potassium nitrate. We imported from Romania lumber, logs, glassware, caustic soda, salt, lubricants, and ammonia soda.

A significant event in the development of economic relations was the Debrecen Fair and Exhibition, on the first anniversary of Debrecen's liberation. The fair was organized in the spirit of Hungarian-Romanian friendship and rapprochement. On Hungary's initiative, the Romanian government abolished passport formalities for the duration of the fair, allowing Romanians to cross the border without any restrictions. Romanian exhibitors were allowed to display their goods duty-free. Representatives of the two governments visited Debrecen during the fair, and the Hungarian-Romanian Chamber of Commerce was formed there.

In December 1945, the transportation ministers of the two countries settled the pending questions of transportation and communications.

Relations Between Political and Social Organizations

Cooperation between the two countries' political and social organizations gradually developed in 1945. Representatives of these organizations visited each other's country and paved the way for the intensification of relations. A Hungarian delegation visited Romania in the summer of 1945, on

the invitation of the Romanian Plow Front. Various trade-union and women's federation delegations exchanged visits. Romanian vacations for Hungarian children were organized in 1945-1946, while in 1947-1948 Romanian children spent vacations with Hungarian families. Several thousand children participated in this program. We concluded an agreement on health care, under which the exchange of experience between health-care specialists was organized, and the two sides sent each other shipments of pharmaceuticals. We conducted a joint program against infectious diseases and helped prisoners of war to return home.

Among the social organizations, an important role in rapprochement was played by the Hungarian-Romanian Society that was formed in September 1945. Its chairman was Zoltan Kodaly. Its membership included numerous prominent personalities, writers, artists and scientists, who were not bound by prejudice and who would have liked to replace the previous enmity with sincere friendship. Learning to know each other better was considered a prerequisite for rapprochement. Primarily the means of culture were used for this purpose, and the objective was set of becoming acquainted with, and learning to like, each other's language, literature, art and folklore. The society established libraries, organized language courses, held exhibitions and published journals: DELKELET [SOUTHEAST] in Budapest, and KELETI KAPU [EASTER GATE] in Debrecen. Eminent Romanian literary works and plays were translated into Hungarian, and published or performed. Artists and scientists began to exchange visits.

Hungarian and Romanian reactionaries did everything possible to disrupt the attempts of the two countries' progressive forces to bring about rapprochement. After the 1945 elections, the Hungarian reactionaries wanted to achieve a change also in Hungarian foreign policy. The attacks unfolded with full force during the talks on Hungary's Peace Treaty. By fanning the old nationalist passions, the reactionaries attempted to hamper the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust. They branded as traitors the Hungarian democratic forces. They again wanted to incite dissention between Hungary and Romania. They attempted to falsify or deny the results that the Romanian CP and the democratic government attained in rectifying the situation of the minorities. The Hungarian CP rejected these attacks and confirmed its belief in friendship between the two nations. At its third congress, in September 1946, the Hungarian CP spoke out in favor of good relations with the neighboring countries. The congress dwelt on Hungarian-Romanian relations and recognizes the achievements of the Groza government. A member of the Romanian delegation to the congress expressed his belief in friendship between the two nations.

Development of Official Relations

A decisive change occurred in 1947 in the development of mutual relations. In the internal political struggle in both countries, the democratic forces gained the upper hand. The August elections in Hungary ended with the complete victory of the Communists, respectively of the democratic forces. In December, Romania abolished its monarchy and established a people's republic. This provided the conditions for even closer cooperation.

Diplomatic relations with Romania, necessary to establish relations between the two governments, were resumed in November 1947, although the chairman of the Allied Control Commission in Hungary had informed the Hungarian government already in July 1946 of his approval to Hungary's resuming diplomatic relations with Romania and Bulgaria.

At the end of April 1947, an 80-member Romanian government delegation headed by Prime Minister Groza visited Hungary. The Week of Romanian Culture, sponsored by the Hungarian-Romanian Society, provided the occasion for this visit. President of the Republic Zoltan Tildy invited Prime Minister Petru Groza. In the history of the two nations, this was the first visit by a Romanian chief of state to Hungary. The Romanian delegation included numerous prominent personalities: writer Mihail Sadoveanu, president of the Romanian National Assembly; Octavian Livezeanu, minister of information; Ion Pas, minister of art; Emil Bodnaras, minister without portfolio; General Badescu; University Professor Kernbach; Victor Eftimiu, the great Romanian poet; composer Andrieu; and many other artists and writers, including such representative of Hungarian literature and culture in Romania as Gabor Gaal, Karoly Kos, Istvan Nagy, and Lajos Csogor.

The most outstanding events on the program of the Week of Romanian Culture were: art, folklore and book exhibits; an evening of Hungarian-Romanian performers at the National Theater; and the presentation of a Romanian play in the Madach Theater. The trade unions and their federations sponsored conferences for writers, journalists, teachers, engineers, doctors and actors. The Lajos Mocsary Residence College was officially opened; it became a symbol of Hungarian-Romanian friendship in that students of the two countries lived and studied together there.

The Romanian politicians met on several occasions for talks with the Hungarian political leaders, including the members of the Hungarian CP Political Committee. Speaking of the significance of the visit, Groza said: "We have come gladly and lovingly to the land of the Hungarians This cultural contact will provide an opportunity for our two nations to become better acquainted. This visit will be a milestone in the history of our two nations. Democracy has created the objective conditions to prevent a recurrence of the dark past. Our work, although difficult, will lead to results: the Romanian and Hungarian people will find each other." Dwelling on the development of economic relations, he pointed out: "In the wake of the war we must shoulder enormous economic burdens. Their solution can be only ever-closer economic cooperation." Appraising the visit, Ferenc Nagy said: "The step that Prime Minister Groza took when he crossed the Hungarian border will serve the peoples of southeast Europe as a guide to cooperation."

In 1947, after the Romanian government delegation's visit, relations between Hungary and Romania became increasingly close. Social and cultural relations were strengthened first of all. Several groups of writers and artists visited each other's countries. To reciprocate for the Romanian people's humanitarian gestures in the difficult postwar years, we hosted three-month

vacations for a large group of children from drought-stricken Romania. National Assistance organized a food-aid program for Romania's population.

As of 1 November 1947, we officially re-established diplomatic relations with Romania, and the two countries mutually upgraded their political missions to embassies. In this way normal diplomatic relations were resumed between the two countries.

In the autumn of 1947, the Hungarian CP set as government objectives the conclusion of friendship treaties with Yugoslavia and Romania. The conclusion of the treaty with Romania was preceded by important diplomatic steps.

On 22 November 1947, a Hungarian government delegation headed by Prime Minister Lajos Dinnyes went to Bucharest to return the 29 April-6 May 1947 visit of the Romanian government delegation headed by Petru Groza. The Hungarian government delegation included Erik Molnar, minister of foreign affairs; Gyula Ortutay, minister of religion and public education; and Istvan Riesz, minister of justice. Representatives of the coalition partners attended the talks: Jozsef Revai of the Hungarian CP, Gyorgy Marosan of the Social Democratic Party, Lajos Szentivanyi of the Independent Smallholders Party, and Ferenc Erdei of the National Peasant Party. The members of the Hungarian delegation held talks with their Romanian counterparts, on the mutual problems affecting both countries.

The Hungarian delegation's visit to Romania was an important link of the peace policy conducted by the democratic governments of east Europe. The immediate objective of the visit was the conclusion of a cultural agreement between the two countries, the preparations for which had been going on for months in various joint commissions. The talks covered not only the cultural agreement but also all political and economic questions affecting the two countries.

The Hungarian-Romanian Cultural Agreement signed during the visit is a document of historical importance. It states that the two governments will strive to strengthen friendly relations by jointly recognizing scientific, literary, artistic, educational and all other cultural manifestations. The two countries pledged utmost support for their minorities' cultural, scientific, educational and artistic institutions, on the principle of their citizens' total equality. To promote friendship between the two nations, the two governments agreed to support the Romanian-Hungarian Society, and the Hungarian-Romanian Society on their respective territories. They agreed to organize press agencies and to facilitate the work of press correspondents. They planned cultural, scientific, artistic and technical exchanges and established scholarships to enhance study at the two countries' higher educational institutions. The two governments agreed to delete in the future from textbooks and other publications all distortions, falsifications, and in general anything intended to present the other country in a less favorable light. They organized joint committees for the realization of the set objectives.

Conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance

Besides the conclusion of the cultural agreement, another objective of the Hungarian government delegation's Bucharest visit in November 1947 was to prepare also the friendship treaty. In the negotiations the principles of the treaty were established, all pending questions were discussed, and possible obstacles were removed. It was indicated already then that the friendship treaty would be signed soon. The official communique issued after the negotiations evaluated the Hungarian government delegation's visit as another important step toward fraternal cooperation between democratic neighbors.

The friendship treaty was signed in Budapest in January 1948. After Yugoslavia, Romania was the second country with which we concluded a friendship agreement.

On 22-24 January 1948, a Romanian government delegation headed by Prime Minister Petru Groza visited the Hungarian Republic. The delegation included Anna Pauker, minister of foreign affairs; Teohari Georgescu, minister of the interior; Lucretiu Patrascanu, minister of justice; Lotar Radeceanu, minister of labor; the secretaries general of the Romanian interior and foreign ministries; and several high-ranking military and police officers. During the visit, cordial and friendly talks were held on questions affecting the two countries. In the spirit of mutual understanding and friendship, the two government delegations agreed to conclude a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, and to sign this treaty in Budapest on 24 January 1948. For the Hungarian Republic, the treaty was signed by Prime Minister Lajos Dinnyes; and for the Romanian People's Republic, by Prime Minister Petru Groza. The two sides expressed complete agreement on all important questions of foreign policy. The friendship that developed between the two countries was appreciated as an important element in maintaining peace in the Danube Basin and in the Balkans. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the two neighboring states proves that favorable conditions for cooperation have developed also in Romania and Hungary. The two government delegations likewise agreed to set up a joint commission for the settlement of the pending questions listed in the protocols signed in November 1947, at the time of the Hungarian government delegation's visit to Bucharest. The joint commission would start negotiations on 10 February 1948.

The two government delegations reaffirmed their intention to oppose the machinations of imperialism and to cooperate closely with the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies, because only close friendship and alliance with them could ensure their own peaceful development and independence. The two government delegations also agreed to prevent any resurgence of chauvinism and reaction that would set their peoples against each other. They expressed the hope that the increasing cooperation of Hungary and Romania in the political, economic and cultural fields would further strengthen the good relations between the two countries and would further enhance the welfare and prosperity of the Hungarian and Romanian people.

The concluded treaty, valid for twenty years, marks the end of a period in the history of the two countries. The period of antifascist, democratic relations that developed after the liberation came to a close, and the period of socialist international relations began.

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CSO: 2500

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KANIA ADDRESSES SKOPJE STEEL WORKERS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jun 78 p 8 AU

[Speech by Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 21 June meeting with workers of the Skopje Steel Mill in Yugoslavia]

[Text] PAP, Belgrade--We have come to your beautiful country to participate with other delegations of the communist and workers parties as well as of progressive and democratic movements in the 11th LCY Congress.

We have brought for the congress the greetings and the best wishes for successful debates from the almost 3 million members of our party, its Central Committee and its leader Edward Gierek. We have brought the greetings from the Polish people for all the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia.

We have come to Skopje, the capital of the Macedonian Republic, which almost exactly 15 years ago was visited by a catastrophic earthquake, an event that shocked the world. Now your fine capital is again throbbing with life and is experiencing its greatest blossoming. You, comrades, and all the workers of your steel mill, which has its crucial share in speeding up the development of your republic, are greatly responsible for this. Dear comrades, we congratulate you on these great achievements, which are a symbol of your patriotic dedication and talents and a symbol of the importance of the unity of all the peoples of fraternal Yugoslavia.

We thank you for your remembering the share of our people in the reconstruction of Skopje and for your words of gratitude for our country.

Our people have feelings of sincere friendship for all the peoples of Yugoslavia. We are pleased with your achievements because the increased strength and further development of fraternal Yugoslavia helps increase the position of socialism in the world and strengthen the forces of progress and peace.

We are extremely pleased with the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and with their particularly dynamic and comprehensive

development in the past few years. Many factors are responsible for the fact that our countries and peoples are close to one another. We are certainly linked by the rich traditions of national liberation struggles, especially of the heroic struggles of our peoples against the Hitlerite aggressor during World War II. In that war the peoples of Yugoslavia wrote glorious records. You know, comrades, that Poland was the first to offer armed resistance to the Hitlerite invaders and ended the war as a participant in the victory over Fascism, despite the loss of 6 million citizens. We are honored by the fact that the soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces participated in the assault on Berlin. This was possible only because we fought side by side with the Soviet Union, which made the decisive contribution to the victory.

Today our particular link is the common road to socialist development, the common Marxist-Leninist ideology and the community of ideological and political aims. All this provides the best premises for the cooperation between our parties and states.

We vividly remember comrade Edward Gierek's recent visit in your country and his talks with President Josip Broz Tito. That meeting and its cordial atmosphere produced new stimuli for comprehensive Polish-Yugoslav state and party cooperation and for mutual collaboration on international issues.

Our countries are good partners who are intensively developing not only trade but also the highest form of economic cooperation--industrial cooperation. The numerous links between the Polish and Yugoslav industries have passed their test. We wish to continue to develop them because they constitute crucial conditions for accelerating our two countries' economic development and because in this way they help meet more effectively and fully the growing needs of our peoples. We also know that we have not yet exhausted all the possibilities in this connection, that they are much greater than it might seem and that they continue to increase in the same way as our two countries' economic potential is increasing.

The Polish people have a very good knowledge of the enormous transformations that have taken place in your country since World War II. We know that Yugoslavia is now a modern and industrialized country, one with rich cultural life and developing science and technology. We are aware of the basic significance of the federal system, which makes it possible for each component republic to develop and which favors the unbreakable unity of all the peoples of fraternal Yugoslavia. We can see this also here, in the Macedonian Republic, of whose achievements you can be proud.

We are also pleased and satisfied with our country's achievements. Poland, which not so long ago was horribly ruined by World War II and which was handicapped by age-old backwardness, is now among the world's developed countries, ranks 10th in the world with regard to the industrial potential and possesses many cultural and scientific achievements.

Thanks to the sixth party congress strategy, subsequently developed by the seventh congress, Poland has developed especially rapidly and comprehensively in the seventies. We are pleased that within a few days Poland's population will be 35 million strong. We are particularly careful to insure that our population's growing needs are met with increasing effectiveness and that its living standards rise. We are developing agriculture and solving the problems of modern nourishment. We have insured jobs for all our people and we have adopted and are implementing a number of important decisions concerning the social program. In the past few years we have extended medical care and a system of pensions for all the rural people, have raised pensions for the remaining people, have introduced various facilities for the working women, have increased student's study grants and allowances and have settled a number of other problems. We are doing a great deal to solve the urgent problem of housing conditions in the near future.

Our party's policy is enjoying the active support of the workers class and other sections of the working people and all the people. We are scoring good results despite many difficulties. We are creating conditions for socialist democracy, regarding its comprehensive intensification as a law of the development of our state, which is going over from the proletariat's dictatorship to an all-national state.

When summing up the achievements of people's Poland, we always realize that whatever we have accomplished has been possible because of relating the general laws of socialist construction to the needs, aspirations and endeavors of the people and because of the leading role of the party and the unity of all our people, achieved by the party. The success of our efforts has been determined to a decisive extent by the Polish communists' correct orientation toward the ties with Lenin's party, toward the lasting alliance, friendship and cooperation with the USSR. We also owe our successes to the friendly cooperation with the other socialist countries.

Together with the Warsaw Pact states, socialist Poland actively participates in international life, working intensively for detente, security and peace and endeavoring to expand equal cooperation with all countries.

We are for the total and comprehensive implementation of the CSCE Final Act, seeing in its principles the foundations for constructing lasting peaceful relations on our continent.

Poland has often expressed its concern with the continuing arms race and has stressed the need to take effective disarmament measures. The efforts made by the United States and the most aggressive NATO circles to promote the neutron weapon have caused a massive opposition in our country. We take the view that the struggle against the introduction of this weapon into the imperialist arsenal must never be relented, not even for a moment.

We fully support the Soviet position with regard to a new Soviet-American accord on limiting strategic armaments. The conclusion of a new accord would

be of key importance not only for the Soviet-American relations but also for the entire policy of detente and for accelerating disarmament negotiations. We support wholeheartedly the important initiatives put forward by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, a leading champion of the policy of detente, with regard to halting the arms race and with regard to disarmament. We share his view that "mankind should direct its thoughts toward the issue of how to save this earth and how to hand it over to the young generation in all its riches and beauty--not mutilated by the flames of a nuclear conflagration." (Brezhnev at the recent Komsomol congress).

We are for finding just, lasting and comprehensive solutions in the Middle East. We are especially for liquidating the results of Israeli aggression and we are for the Palestinian people's right to set up their own state. We condemn imperialist interventions in the south of Africa, threatening the peace in Africa.

It is with great interest and admiration that we are watching the nonaligned countries' activities and Yugoslavia's share in the nonaligned movement, which we regard as a very important political force. Relying on the principle of united action and seeking to implement the world's peaceful, comprehensive development, this movement is able to continue its influential role in the international arena.

The universal wish of nations to live in peace and friendship is natural. Life in peace is the basic right of people and nations, of all mankind. This is why countering all attempts to halt the process of detente by the aggressive forces of imperialism and by the champions of the "cold war"--by those hailing from the extreme right and by those who diligently favor imperialism, although they profess other views--is our supreme duty toward the present and future generations.

We are profoundly pleased with the fact that Poland and Yugoslavia have identical views on these issues and are fruitfully cooperating in the international arena.

We want once again to express our joy that we have been able to meet with you, workers and employees of the Skopje Steel Mill. We will leave this place not only greatly impressed by your friendliness, hospitality and achievements, but also profoundly convinced of the cordial friendship between our peoples. Together with you we direct our thoughts to the 11th LCY Congress, which is debating the program for your country's further development.

We are greatly impressed by the speech made by Comrade Tito, the leader of your party and people, the legendary commander of the Yugoslav People's Army, which wrote records of heroism in the struggle against the Fascist occupiers, an outstanding leader of the international workers movement and a great champion of the friendship between the Polish and Yugoslav peoples.

The congress program is a program for Yugoslavia's thriving development, for improving the leading role of the LCY, for the unity of nations and for strengthening the position of your socialist state in the world.

We wish you successes in implementing this program. May your republic make its worthy contribution to it.

Dear comrades and friends, together with you we wish the congress the most fruitful debates for the good of your socialist fatherland, for the good of the great and common cause of socialism.

Dear comrades and friends, it is our wholehearted wish that you score further achievements in your daily creative efforts and in further socialist construction. Please give our best wishes for every success and good health to your families, all the communists and all the people of your beautiful republic.

CSO: 2600

ALBANIA

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN STILL EXISTS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian. 7 Apr 78 p 2

[Article by Vito Kapo, president of the Albanian Women's Union: "Women's Rights, as a Great Problem of the Party, Is Also a Problem for the Whole Society"]

[Text] The General Council of the Albanian Women's Union in its last session, approved a call for the 8th regular Congress of the Albanian Women's Union to be held on 1 June 1978 in the city of Durres. This congress will occupy an important place in the history of the women of Albania and all the Albanian people.

The congresses of the mass organizations in our country have been strong manifestation of our marvelous strength, of the militant unity which exists between the people and the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The 8th Congress of the Albanian Women's Union will have the same impact.

In the 8th Congress of their 35 year-old organization, the women of Albania will evaluate their successes achieved during the 33 years of people's power under the leadership of the party in the struggle for their complete emancipation as part of the uninterrupted struggle and an essential condition for the emancipation of our entire socialist society. Inspired by the decisions of the 7th Party Congress and the great teachings of Comrade Enver expressed during his meetings in Gjirokaster and Sarande districts, they will express once more the belief in their possibilities and abilities, in their strength and courage.

A characteristic of this period is the elevation to a higher level of the political awareness of the masses of women in the struggle for building socialism and for the defense of the country.

The participation of women in socio-political life, as soldiers and officers in the defense of the country, has further strengthened their personalities and has served as one of the major factors in the struggle for their complete emancipation. Among other achievements, the participation of women

in social and productive work (they represent 46 percent of the workers of the city and village), the raising of the level of their skills, not only on the basis of practical experience but also on the basis of extensive enrollment in technical and professional courses and schools are of great importance. Next to the participation of women in socio-political life and in social-productive work, wide attendance of schools by them is the most positive trend seen in the struggle for the full emancipation of women. Girls and women represent 50 percent of the students in 8-year and middle schools and 45 percent of the students in advanced education. Typical is the enrollment in agricultural middle schools where the number of women is 12 times as many as in 1973. The women are right when they brag about school because they see it, not as a tool in obtaining "preferred jobs," but as a tool in carrying out the overall mission which they have in society. The fact is that over 6,500 women and girls with middle school education work in agricultural cooperatives, working directly in the fields while thousands of others work in sectors of industrial production or in those of social services. Wide and active participation of women in all aspects of life is going to help in the future in removing disparities in relations among women in different categories, among those in the same category, and also among men and women.

The organizations of the Albanian Women's Union, under the direction of the party, in cooperation with all other mass organizations, are working so that all people, especially the women will foster the correct idea that the special problems of women are solved in the general struggle for the realization of tasks of the Socialist Revolution.

Taking into consideration the great opportunities which our socialist social system has provided in opening the road to full emancipation of the entire society, of course to women too, it is understood by all that women's rights, as a big problem of the party, has to be always and even more a problem of the entire society. Under the direction of the Party, all its components should be put into motion, to a greater extent, in attacking this problem, especially in the direction of better political and ideological work with all the masses, with women, with men, with young people in order to assist the forces and energies of women to penetrate more and more in all fields of life.

This political work should aim, first, at making women understand and execute their tasks successfully in our present situation, and that they understand their mission as citizens, workers, renewers of life and "regulators" in the family. The Party teaches us that this is a mutual work; the women should be better trained, more than they are now, to understand themselves and influence other members of the family and society to find correct solutions to the problems which our society is faced with.

Also, men and boys should be better trained politically and ideologically. When all the people make Marxist-Leninist their own ideology, when all the people acquire the right political viewpoint and possess the right social attitudes, equality is established according to our proletarian principles in relations between men and women, and at the same time, a unity of thought and action is assured; foreign tendencies like indifference, personal richness, laziness, hatred, favoritism--are combatted! All unallowable behavior and bad habits are also combatted. Frequent ideological and political work is a must, because even though we have progressed and we are not anymore at the same stage of development--there are still appearances of atavistic behavior of men to rule over women and of women to be ruled. Proof of this is the fact that the appointment of women to positions of leadership is not going well in proportion to the overall improvement of women's abilities and work seniority. Another sign of this type of feelings is the fact that division of works "for men" and "for women," especially in agriculture where both sides, like in a silent compromise, admit the fact that men should have "cleaner jobs," for example in auxiliary sectors, and women should bear the main brunt of work in agriculture. This atavism, sometimes goes so far as to break the law by using the disgraceful custom of getting the women pregnant without thinking of the bad consequences of this act. An example of atavism is also the tradition (more or less new) of arranged marriages, which, even though it is more or less new, on many occasions it has an old content, because it does not always lead the way to real love but rather it results in the strict imposition of the parent's will. Let alone, when this imposition takes place, it opens the way for marriage by barter. As a consequence of these atavistic feelings inherited from the past, not enough has been done for the socialization of work in the family, especially in the village. There are still some disparities in some areas and there are violations of many socialist norms and principles on the treatment of women as equals; especially in the family; and here and there in other aspects of life. This shows not only that women, in many aspects, are still in an inferior position, but also that men are retraining in their consciousness conservative concepts, backward traditions which impede them from rising to the level of contemporary needs, therefore they are not emancipated as they should be. Their authority is often tied to the position they hold and with past consideration for the man.

The struggle for the emancipation of the entire society in our socialist system is one of the greatest tasks set by the 7th Party Congress for all Party units. This problem must be seen, as our Party and Comrade Enver teach us, in all its breadth and not only in regard to man-woman or boy-girl relationships. It should be seen as part of total struggle in which our people are involved in assimilating and applying the party line.

Mass organizations, led by the Party, are understanding, more and more each day, their primary tasks, their responsibilities in defending and applying the Party line. Through close, diversified and differentiated work, they are fighting in order to bring the Party directives to the

masses, to make them understandable, to organize the work for their implementation, to make people rise up to implement them. So, for example, as a result of this great productive work in Permet, Kolonje, Gjirokaster, Vlore and other districts, the initiatives of the youth to move from the city to the village were widespread, which strengthens the conviction that the tasks of the mass organizations are not divided by a wall; although they may appear separated, they belong to all. But this view is not yet shared by the mass organizations themselves. For example, there still exists the concept that mother and child problems belong only to health organizations and to the Albanian Women's Union and this concept becomes an obstacle in such an important matter. One could think what do the Union of Trade Unions or the Union of Working Youth have to do with the problem of raising children. But, is love for the child only the right of the mother and not the father? This is not accepted by anyone. Then, how can it be accepted that the mothers should think more about the child's nutrition, clothing, home environment, the family, etc.? That is why the father, as a member of the Trade Unions, instead of spending his income without keeping account, as it happens on many occasions, should be educated by the Union of Trade Unions in a way that he too will have responsibility for this problem. The Albanian Democratic Front and the Union of Working Youth should also work for this since they are living revolutionary organizations. At the same time, the state, administrative and economic organs, on the basis of the plans, are charged with concrete tasks. They have not only the directive but also the funds and tools which should be used as allowed by the laws of our people's state in order to help the wellbeing of mother and child.

The mass organizations have allied to them the working class, the communists, the cadres, the cooperative peasantry, the women, the youth, etc. If all of the above take action and become aware both of their force and of the task which they must realize, every problem, task or question of rights can be solved based on the laws. That is why it is an obligation of the mass organizations to understand their rights and to fight for the knowledge and implementation of the laws. This work method increases the feeling of responsibility of each person and no one can saddle others with his responsibility. Based on this, at "Stalin" Textile Combine in the Wool Textile Factory, every party lever became conscious of their responsibilities regarding women's right, and implemented a compact political and organizational work program for solving some of the problems faced by the working mothers, who sometimes because the children or sometimes because of poor organization of work in the family or poor service in the nurseries or transportation problems etc., violated proletarian discipline in work.

As is the case in the implementation of every directive, also, those which deal with women's rights have their difficulties and obstacles, especially those of subjective nature--from people who hold bureaucratic, liberal and conservative concepts. For example, the bureaucratic behavior on the part

of some people is an obstacle to the implementation of the rights of pregnant women and nursing mothers and also is an obstacle to the use of state funds in reducing women's work load etc. Conservative positions taken by some others on the other hand, impede the increasing of responsibilities for women, stifle the enthusiasm of young women for work and action and the equal treatment of women in the family. To no lesser extent damage is also done by liberal attitudes which endorse lack of discipline in work, indifference, laziness, etc. These individuals are only a few in number but they are members of mass organizations, organizations which should understand that it is their task to put these people on the right road and develop their awareness in taking a party stand every where.

These are manifestations of the class struggle, people's inner contradictions and, for their correct solution mass organizations should and must work by means of attacking the sickness in its first symptoms, by treating of the sick in order to open the way, everywhere, to the realization of socialist principles and norms and the directives of the party, which, when they deal with women, represent the interests of all the people, of socialism and the country.

Deeply immersed in the constant teaching of the party that, just as for other problems of revolution, we should work on the problem of women's rights with coordinated forces, today, when participation of women shoulder to shoulder, with men in the entire social life of the country has arisen to a high degree of development, every mass organization, more than any time before, has as its main task--while knowing better and better the active and all those elected to its forums by party directives and, while working to analyze this directive to organize and apply its control--never to forget what is the woman's responsibility and what should be done for the woman in order that she will fulfill the task which she is responsible for. Only in this way, will the issue of women's rights become an integral part of the problems of socialist revolution.

It is absolutely necessary for all the political-educational work of the Albanian Women's Union and other mass organizations, during the campaign honoring the 8th Congress of the Albanian Women's Union, to become more effective, to serve that which our party recommends, so that women and men, always and everywhere will take a revolutionary class attitude to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defense for the country.

The organizations of the Albanian Women's Union, in cooperation with other mass organizations, on the eve of the Albanian League of Prizren jubilee, should work harder for understanding and renewing the brilliant traditions of our people and heroism of the masses. The period before the Congress should serve in raising to a higher level the women's militant patriotism.

It is every woman's task and the task of all the collective where she works to go to the 8th Congress of the Albanian Women's Union with all their plans fulfilled, not only in their totality but in each individual unit.

Women's participation in the technical and scientific revolution should be increased. Their creative ideas should be stimulated for the increase and perfection of the productive forces, to save raw materials and to reduce the workload, especially for the women. The months before the Congress are decisive for the production of grain, vegetables, and other agricultural crops to which the women make and should make a great contribution.

It is important that in every country, while studying the problem of women's participation in production and in cooperation with all the mass organizations, a wide political work be developed so that no women or young girl will be far from the front of social production. At the same time, all women registered in schools should continue their education and increase their efforts to achieve better results.

Inspired by the general party line and the revolutionary and optimistic atmosphere created by the visit of Comrade Enver to Gjirokaster and Sarande and, also, having in heart and in thoughts the teachings given by him, the Albanian women along with all the people, while fighting with a revolutionary spirit, are going to make their contribution for the realization of all the tasks laid down by the 7th Congress of Albanian Workers Party, for putting into effect pledges, initiatives and the movements in honor of the 8th Congress of the Albanian Women's Union.

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CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

EARTHQUAKE IN DIBER DISTRICT--According to information from the Seismological Center, on 24 June at 0214 hours a number of earthquakes occurred with an epicenter in the vicinity of the city of Peshkopi. The strongest tremor, at 0214 hours, had a magnitude of 4.4 on the Richter scale and an intensity of 6 at the epicenter, according to the MSK [Mercalli] scale. It was reported that there was only light material damage in the villages of Ushtelence, Selishte, Muhur, Fushe-Cidhen, Lishan i Poshtem, Arapaj i Eperm and in Katundi i Ri. Shocks from these tremors were felt in Kukes and in villages to the south with an intensity of 4-5 [on the Mercalli scale], in villages to the east of the city of Burrel with an intensity of 4-5, and in some villages in Mirdite District with an intensity of 3-4. [Text]
[Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Jun 78 p 1]

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF LIBYAN LEADER AL-QADHDHAFI

Zhivkov Dinner Toast

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jun 78 p 2 AU

[Report on toast by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, at official dinner given on 18 June at the "Boyana" residence in honor of Mu'ammur al-Qadhdhafi, secretary general of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah]

[Text] It is a particular pleasure for me to most cordially welcome you on our fraternal soil as the Bulgarian people's dear guests, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated.

He stressed that he always remembers with true pleasure but today more than ever in this friendly atmosphere, the beautiful days of his visit to the Libyan Jamahiriyah, the cordial meetings with representatives of the freedom-loving and hospitable people of Libya, a people who are confidently building their present and their future under the energetic leadership of Col Mu'ammur al-Qadhdhafi.

The natural aspirations of the Libyan people for a new and better life are familiar and understandable to us. We sincerely rejoice at the successes of these people in the struggle for an accelerated socioeconomic development and for the further progress and prosperity of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out.

Comrade Zhivkov noted that all these successes undoubtedly are linked to the indefatigable activities of Comrade al-Qadhdhafi for the practical implementation of the ideals of the 1 September 1969 revolutions. They are linked to his resolute struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism, for peace and the social progress of peoples throughout the world. I remember with pleasure the useful talks we conducted with you in Tripoli, Comrade al-Qadhdhafi, and which, in our opinion, opened new prospects for the future of Bulgarian-Libyan cooperation, the first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council stated.

The solid, principle-minded foundation of these friendly mutual relations was laid in 1976 with the declaration of the development of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. We can state with mutual satisfaction that Bulgarian-Libyan cooperation is already producing great results in all fields, while the results are the victories crowning every lofty endeavor and every noble initiative.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov further noted that he would feel happy in Comrade al-Qadhafi's impressions of his stay in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, his impressions of everything he saw and experienced in our beautiful, renewed and reborn motherland, were pleasant ones.

Our present talks, which we opened in Sofia today, show our useful are personal meetings and talks between state and party leaders; these meetings and talks have asserted themselves as an effective forum, as in invigorating incentive for an even more favorable development of relations between our two countries, as an example for our and for your competent organs in discussing and resolving the concrete problems of Bulgarian-Libyan cooperation. I am convinced that the results of your visit to our country will represent a new contribution to the expansion and intensification of Bulgarian-Libyan friendship and cooperation, that it will contribute to an even more complete utilization of already existing opportunities, to the benefit of our two peoples and in the interest of universal peace and social progress, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed.

He dealt with the struggle to strengthen peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, on the further consolidation of detente in international life, the transformation of detente into a lasting and irreversible process; a struggle which achieved great, new successes in recent years. These successes are inspiring and committing at the same time. Billions of people all over the planet hate war, they long for peace, and it is the duty of each decent man, of every nation, of every government and state, of every statesman, political leader and public figure to devote his efforts to the struggle for peace and against war, destruction and death, for the national independence, freedom and happiness of all peoples.

Aware of their historical responsibility toward their peoples and mankind, the countries of the socialist community became the initiators, the consistent defenders and propagandists of the idea that detente should develop on a multifaceted basis. This constructive policy has many supporters and was clearly expressed in the CSCE held in Helsinki. It was reflected in the Helsinki Final Act, in the efforts to directly implement all the basic principles and tenets of international life. The Belgrade meeting was one more step forward along the path outlined by Helsinki. The participants in the Belgrade meeting shared their intentions to continue to pursue the process of strengthening security and developing cooperation on the European continent.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared that the People's Republic of Bulgaria has made, is making and will make its active contribution to the constructive spirit of Helsinki, to this peace-loving trend. Bulgaria will contribute to friendly relations and mutual cooperation with the neighboring countries, with close and distant peoples for the consolidation of peace and security, for the further intensification of the process of detente, which must also expand into the military sector.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared that in our opinion the most important and urgent task today, a task facing all states regardless of their political or social system, is the task of halting the arms race. This is why we attach great importance to the work of the present special UNGA session devoted to disarmament questions, he stated. We hope that this session will adopt a concrete program of action, the implementation of which will create realistic prerequisites for a prompt convening of a conference on universal disarmament. We feel that the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union in connection with practical methods to halt the armaments race represent a solid basis for such a program, Comrade Zhivkov said.

We have always been aware of the fact that the reactionary forces, the forces of the old world, will not give up, that they will not voluntarily relinquish their antihumanitarian policy, a policy aimed against the freedom, independence and progressive development of the peoples. Your own experience has convinced you that the enemies of peace and social progress are also implementing such a policy precisely against the other Arab peoples, Comrade Todor Zhivkov further stated. They are trying to spread distrust, to encourage and incite hostilities and controversies among the Arab peoples; they are trying to split the Arab forces in order to distract their attention from the main issue--the struggle for a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict; they are trying to separate the Arab peoples from their most loyal friend and selfless ally--the Soviet Union--and from the other countries of the socialist community. This is the true goal and the perfidious logic of the policy of imperialism and neocolonialism.

The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the most important, vital questions of the international situation is built on the foundations of principle-minded, international and constructive evaluations and stands. This is our position on the settlement of the Middle East problem. This position is a well-known one. As we have stated on several occasions, there is no and there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East--which is one of the most dangerous hotbeds of political and military tension in the world--without the full withdrawal of the Israeli occupiers from all Arab territories seized in 1967; there can be no lasting and just peace in the Middle East without respecting the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination, and there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East without guaranteeing all states in this area the right to lead an independent and free existence and to security.

We think that separatist business deals with Israel are directed against all-Arab interests--they are impeding, delaying and complicating the achievement of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East. This is why our country highly appreciates the position of the Libyan Jamahiriya and of the other progressive Arab countries, which at the Tripoli and Algiers conferences adopted principle-minded, anti-imperialist positions, the first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council stated.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always firmly and consistently supported and still supports the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. Our Bulgarian people sincerely rejoice at the successes achieved by these peoples in conquering and defending their freedom and national independence, as well as at their economic and cultural upsurge.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared that our people share the concern of progressive African and worldwide opinion over the growing interference of the forces of imperialism and reaction in the domestic affairs of the African states for purpose of suppressing the African peoples' liberation struggle and for the purpose of resuming their political and economic positions in Africa. The actions of imperialism and neocolonialism on the African Continent once more have revealed the direct link existing between the forms of economic penetration and domination and the armed, imperialist aggression that occurs whenever this domination is threatened.

We believe that the African peoples will not give in to the intrigues of imperialism and that they will settle the problems emerging among themselves in a peaceful manner in conformity with the UN Charter and with the OAU Charter, Comrade Todor Zhivkov continued. We are convinced that the progressive and patriotic forces on the African Continent, supported by their natural allies--the countries of the socialist community and the progressive forces in the world--will be able to defeat the plans of imperialism, Zionism, racism and reaction.

The imperialists and their propaganda are trying in vain to present the support to the national liberation movement and to the victims of aggression as a violation of the code of detente and to juxtapose the national liberation movement to the process of detente. On the contrary, the process of detente will be the more successful and the more dynamic the sooner the legitimate rights of all peoples to independent development are satisfied.

I would like to assure you, Dear Comrade al-Qadhafi, that the national liberation movements, the progressive Arab and African countries, including the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, can continue to rely upon the support of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in their just struggle for national independence, sovereignty, peace and social progress, for happiness and the prosperity of their peoples, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated in closing.

Al-Qadhdhafi Toast

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jun 78 p 2 AU

[Summary of toast by Col Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi, secretary general of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, at 17 June official dinner given in his honor by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman]

[Text] In his toast Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi expressed his gratitude for the exceptional cordiality and the warm official and popular hospitality shown him in Sofia. We shall always remember this; the warmth of the official and people's reception was a reflection of the warmth of our friendship, he said.

I and my comrades, the leader of the Libyan Jamahiriyah continued, will always carry this memory with us. The Libyan people, who are observing us today and who were deeply impressed with Comrade Todor Zhivkov's visit in December 1976, will also cherish this memory. That visit gave a great impetus to the two countries' relations. I express my gratitude for the visit you paid our country, a visit which strengthened the friendship between our two countries, Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi said, turning to Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Thus, the credit for the great development of our countries' relations belongs to your visit.

The high guest confirmed his support for all the thoughts and opinions expressed in Comrade Zhivkov's toast in regard to mutual relations and international relations as well. The talks conducted indeed confirmed the two countries' readiness to develop these relations to the maximum.

We highly value your statement in your toast that we as well as the other Arab progressive countries could rely on Bulgaria's friendship in our just struggle.

I agree with you that there are urgent international problems that deserve the attention of all nations loving peace and progress, al-Qadhdhafi declared.

We all greeted with great satisfaction the Helsinki Conference's Final Act. However, international detente should not be limited to the two superpowers. To give this document historic significance, detente must encompass all areas of the world. It is regrettable that detente is now limited.

At the same time that we applaud detente and wish it luck, we see that peace is being damaged in other parts of the world, he said.

The leader of the Libyan Jamahiriyah further pointed out that perhaps the situation in the Middle East is a precursor threatening detente and world peace. Nothing has changed since the 1948 occupation of Palestine. The

racist Zionist colonialists continue to occupy these lands despite all the UN decisions calling for returning the land to its inhabitants. This was the fact that compelled the Arab nations to arm in order to defeat the aggression and liberate the land by force. We do not want to accumulate weapons in this region, Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi said, but for those who want to win their independence arms become a necessity. The Arabs, led by the Palestinian people, are defending themselves and conducting a legal defense of a just cause. Stopping the aggression is necessary for peace in the Middle East. This can take place only if the owners of the land are stronger than the occupier, who rules by the power of his weapons. In its attempt to continue to oppress the Arab peoples, world imperialism succeeded in shattering their front and turning some governments into tools moving in imperialism's orbit. The guest pointed out that these regimes are now being used to defend imperialism's interests and that they are now fighting for the imperialists.

Stressing that peace cannot be achieved until reaction and imperialism are defeated, Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi said that the progressive revolutionary forces throughout the Arab motherland are standing behind the great revolution of 1 September, which is striving to inflame the revolution of the people's masses and to defeat reaction and colonialism. This alarms the reactionary regimes surrounding us and instigates them to undertake attempts of armed aggression against the Jamahiriyah, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi said.

He further noted that peace in Africa is being broken, and he pointed out that at the present moment some are discussing the problems of disarmament from the UN rostrum while their armies are striving to impose supremacy over other peoples, as is the case now in Africa.

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi said that the U.S. and European reactionary armies are grouped in Africa, and more specifically in Chad, Shaba, and Western Sahara, and he called this a very dangerous precedent. He pointed out that the African peoples also must ally with the world progressive forces against this aggression.

What is now taking place in Africa totally contradicts the slogans raised by some in the United Nations. Stressing that the African peoples also strive toward peace, disarmament and prosperity but have to fight in order to defend themselves, Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi said that it is not correct for detente to be at the expense of the small peoples.

At this moment, he said, I welcome the noble attitude of the People's Republic of Bulgaria toward this just cause. We believe that we can rely on Bulgarian assistance to our just struggle. All Arab and African people have faith in Bulgarian assistance to their just struggle. We are convinced that Bulgaria really believes in peace and freedom, because its history teaches us to believe that. Bulgaria tasted the colonial yoke and foreign domination. Through its people's struggle Bulgaria succeeded in overcoming fascism. Bulgaria succeeded in implementing progress through

its people's revolution. And when Bulgaria says that it loves peace, we believe that it really loves peace, because it knows what war is. When it says that it loves freedom and freedom fighters, we also believe this, because Bulgaria paid for its freedom. We are now encountering some prerequisites that must turn the friendship between our two countries into something permanent, Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi further said.

He said that he is happy to pay his respects to the efforts of Bulgaria to develop cooperation with the Libyan people in order to achieve progress in Libyan life. Every day, the guest said, we greet the Bulgarians whom we see working with us in every area of labor in the Jamahiriyah. Every day they earn the confidence and love of their Libyan friends. This is what compels this Libyan delegation to request more Bulgarians in those areas where they are now needed. I express my gratitude for the accelerated development of the cooperation between our two countries.

Mr al-Qadhdhafi later stressed that there are also moral factors contributing to the development of cooperation. Among them he pointed to the fact that there are Bulgarian citizens who are Muslims. This is a positive factor in the relations between our two countries, Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi said, which brings Bulgaria closer to the Libyan people.

Interview With al-Qadhdhafi

Sofia ROBOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jun 78 p 2 AU

[Interview given by Col Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi to Bulgarian radio, television and BTA reporters in Sofia on 20 June 1978]

[Text] Before leaving our country Col Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi was kind enough to give an interview to representatives of the Bulgarian television, radio and BTA.

Question: During Comrade Todor Zhivkov's visit to Tripoli in 1976 you declared that during your talks with him you had reached understanding on many questions of a bilateral and multilateral character and that there had been no differences of opinion on the questions discussed. How do you evaluate your present talks with the first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council?

Answer: Our talks have confirmed the things we agreed upon the last time and represent a continuation of those talks. Like last time, this time again there were no differences between our points of view. I also think that after these talks our relations will rise to a new stage. More Bulgarian friends will have to prepare for their trip to Libya.

Question: Would you be kind enough to describe more concretely the prospects for the future of Bulgarian-Libyan relations?

Answer: The first thing we expect is a doubling of our exchange of goods with Bulgaria. Perhaps the number of Bulgarian specialists and workers who are active in our country will also double. We are now preparing details on a great and vast program concerning the development of our bilateral relations.

Question: This is the first time you have visited Bulgaria. Would you be so kind as to describe your impressions of what you have seen these last few days?

Answer: I was closely acquainted with the friendly Bulgarian people. I could feel the love they have for their Libyan friends. The extremely warm hospitality and the thousands of people who gathered to welcome us confirmed these friendly feelings. I was exceptionally glad to see the tremendous progress achieved by friendly Bulgaria in all sectors. I had heard about Bulgarian agriculture, but now I am convinced that Bulgaria is not only a country with a modern agriculture but also a developing industrial state. It has made tremendous progress in machine building, in road construction, in building bridges and in the sector of plant construction and housing development. I was greatly impressed by the attention devoted in Bulgaria to environmental protection. The Bulgarian people are extremely industrious, and I felt that this is a nation that is truly free of exploitation, a people working and building only for themselves. This is one of the basic factors for the construction of socialism.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

MATERIALS ON VISIT OF TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

Mladenov Dinner Toast

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jun 78 p 2 AU

[Report on toast proposed by Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, at official dinner in Sofia on 22 June in honor of the visit of Mohamed Fitouri, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Tunisia]

[Text] Expressing satisfaction with the state of relations between Bulgaria and Tunisia, Petur Mladenov stressed that the talks between Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and Habib Bourgiba, president of the Republic of Tunisia, as well as the declaration signed by the two state leaders in 1975, have played an exceptionally important role in the development of these relations. Petur Mladenov expressed confidence that this visit and the talks that will be held between the two ministers of foreign affairs will give a new impetus to the further consolidation and development of co-operation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Tunisia, which is in accordance with the desires of both countries.

Petur Mladenov stated that the main and crucial problem of our time is halting the arms race, as well as achieving universal and complete disarmament. This is precisely the goal of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist community in their proposals to the special UNGA session on disarmament. This is why we appeal for the convening of a conference on universal disarmament with the participation of all countries, a conference at which concrete, realistic and binding disarmament measures must be outlined.

In the Middle East, for many decades the Arab peoples have been subjected to constant aggression by Israel. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, which maintains traditional, friendly relations with the Arab countries and peoples, cannot help feeling deep concern over the persistent and even intensifying tension in that area. Everyone has become aware of the fact that separatist business deals will not produce anything positive. The only way out of the acute crisis in the Middle East is a radical and comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East conflict, Petur Mladenov pointed out.

The forces of neocolonialism have recently been intensified in Africa, forces which are trying to restore their positions by taking advantage of certain conflicts and problems existing among the African countries and inherited from the period of colonial domination. Such problems must be settled by negotiations, as stipulated by the OAU and UN charters, Petur Mladenov continued.

Petur Mladenov closed his speech by stressing that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is attentively following the successes of the industrious people of Tunisia and rejoices at the efforts of the Republic of Tunisia to liquidate the remnants of colonialism and to achieve social progress.

Joint Communiqué

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jun 78 pp 1, 2 AU

[Text of joint communiqué on the visit of Mohamed Fitouri, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Tunisia, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria on 21-23 June 1978, signed in Sofia on 24 June]

[Text] At the invitation of Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mohamed Fitouri, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Tunisia, paid an official visit to Bulgaria on 21-23 June 1978.

During his visit the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Tunisia was received by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Talks, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding, were held between the ministers of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Tunisia.

The two ministers discussed bilateral, political, economic and cultural relations and exchanged opinions on certain topical problems of the international situation.

The two ministers of foreign affairs stated with satisfaction that Bulgarian-Tunisian relations in recent years have been characterized by a positive development. The two ministers stressed that the visits exchanged between Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and Habib Bourgiba, president of the Republic of Tunisia, as well as the joint declaration the two state leaders signed in 1975, have favorably influenced the development of relations between the two countries.

The two ministers pointed to the existing favorable opportunities for an expansion of trade, as well as of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation. The two ministers also discussed possibilities for working out

a long-term program on the exchange of goods useful to both countries and recommended that this question be discussed at the next session of the Joint Bulgarian-Tunisian Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Committee.

The two sides expressed the wish that regular exchanges of visits of state leaders and public figures will also take place in the future, as well as the wish for an expansion of contacts among representatives of science, culture, and sports.

During the visit of the Tunisian minister of foreign affairs a plan on cultural exchange for the period 1978-79 was signed between the two countries.

The two ministers stated that the stands of Bulgaria and Tunisia on certain main international problems of our time are identical. They noted with satisfaction that the process of detente, which represents a factor of essential importance in international relations, must be intensified and expanded to all areas of the world. The two ministers expressed their unshakable will to contribute to the intensification of the process of detente for the purpose of transforming it into an irreversible and comprehensive process.

In this spirit the two sides evaluated the results of the Belgrade meeting, at which the resolve of the participating countries to persist in implementing the goals set by the CSCE was expressed, and the two sides confirmed the necessity of implementing the CSCE Final Act in its entirety as a long-term program of action, including the stipulations of the Final Act concerning the Mediterranean.

The two ministers stressed that the halting of the armaments race and the adoption of concrete measures in this respect are of great importance for the consolidation of universal peace and international security.

The two sides declared themselves in favor of banning the production of nuclear weapons and of all nuclear tests, in favor of banning chemical weapons and against research on the production of new types and systems of weapons.

The two sides pointed to the particular significance of the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament and declared themselves in favor of convening a conference on universal disarmament with the participation of all states, a conference which should outline concrete and binding measures in the disarmament field with the final goal of achieving universal and full disarmament.

The two ministers declared themselves in favor of adopting an international agreement on the nonuse of force in international relations and expressed their governments' conviction that controversial problems must be resolved by peaceful methods.

The two sides expressed their deep concern about the development of the situation in the Middle East. They stated that the situation in that area

continues to be complicated due to the expansionist policy conducted by Israel toward the Arab countries. The most recent Israeli aggression against the territory and sovereignty of Lebanon exacerbated the situation. Basing themselves on the principle of the peoples' self-determination and on the fact that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible in international relations, the two sides insist that Israeli troops should immediately and unconditionally withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and declare themselves in favor of restoring the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, represented by the PLO, including their right to self-determination and their right to an independent national state. The two sides declared themselves in favor of a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict in the interest of peace and security in that area.

In discussing the situation on the African Continent, the two sides shared the conviction that all controversial problems must be resolved by negotiations that respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states in conformity with the OAU Charter and the UN Charter. The two sides declared themselves in favor of liquidating the remnants of colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and all kinds of racism.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Tunisia confirmed their firm support for the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and national independence. The two sides condemn the maneuvers aimed at a pseudosolution of problems in that area for the purpose of preserving the interests of the racist and colonial regimes.

The two ministers expressed themselves in support of the establishment of just, equal and mutually advantageous international economic relations. They expressed themselves in favor of an end to discrimination in international trade and recognition of the irrevocable rights of all states to freely dispose of their natural resources and to select their own national path of economic and social development.

The two sides think that the visit of Minister Mohamed Fitouri to Bulgaria and the talks conducted between the two sides will contribute to a further development of bilateral political, economic and cultural relations and will represent an essentially important element in consolidating the friendly relations and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Tunisia.

Mohamed Fitouri, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Tunisia, expressed his sincere gratitude for the friendly and warm hospitality with which he and those accompanying him were met in Bulgaria. He invited Minister Petur Mladenov to pay an official visit to the Republic of Tunisia. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be set later.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ARMY DAILY SCORES PRC'S 'NUCLEAR AMBITIONS'

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 June 78 p 4 AU

[Article by Ivan Peev: "Peking's Nuclear Ambitions"]

[Text] The new Chinese leadership has decisively embarked on the road of modernizing its armed forces--this is the unanimous conclusion of all observers of China's military problems. The stress is on diversifying the arsenal of nuclear weapons and developing new kinds of military equipment.

The great significance now attributed to nuclear weapons, until recently called "paper tigers," is confirmed by the fact that in the 18 months since the death of Mao Tse-tung 6 nuclear weapons tests have been conducted, while before there was an average of one test a year. This is not only evidence of the Chinese military industry's increased possibilities but also a special advertisement of the Chinese leadership's long-range strategic goals.

The Chinese LIBERATION ARMY DAILY significantly noted that by the beginning of 1978 the time when wars were won "with millet and rifles" was over, and that to maintain that "Red heads can defeat tanks" is sheer nonsense. According to the newspaper, China needs more airplanes, tanks and nuclear bombs. "We must have not only what the others have but also what they still do not have," wrote the authors of the article. When one takes into consideration that the "authors" are the theoretical group in the Scientific and Technological Commission on National Defense, it is clear that this is a collective opinion and an official instruction on further developing the Chinese atomic industry. The period of disputes over the Chinese armed forces' future development is over.

On 15 March China conducted its 23d nuclear test in the atmosphere, with a capacity of 20 kilotons. NCNA announced that the test was conducted "under the wise leadership of Hua Kuo-feng" and again pointed out that it has "a defensive goal" aimed at breaking the monopoly of the superpowers.

Despite the Chinese assurances that the test in question was a "clean" one, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency was instructed to activate the control system for locating and measuring radioactive fallout. On 24 March

the Japanese Government sharply criticized the Chinese test and demanded that China end tests in the atmosphere. The government protest noted that Japan reserves the right to demand indemnities for damages inflicted by this nuclear explosion.

The striving of the Chinese leadership to build up the country's nuclear armament is also confirmed by some indirect data. On 7 April the London weekly EASTERN TIMES wrote that China is actively interested in shipments of Australian uranium. Of the known reserves of the capitalist world's uranium, 17 percent are in Australia. According to the newspaper, a Chinese delegation is expected to negotiate a contract on deliveries of this important raw material to the Chinese nuclear industry. This information only confirms similar assumptions by the English newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES in February this year and the report that similar negotiations are being conducted with Canada. It should be noted that China has a significant deficit in its balance of payments with these two countries.

It is obvious that China is looking to the distant future. Despite the fact that China has significant reserves of uranium, it prefers to import uranium by using its foreign currency, thus saving its own reserves and serving long-range strategic goals related to the rising price of uranium when world reserves decrease.

In recent months West Europe has been literally full of Chinese trade delegations displaying a special interest in the best achievements of West European military technology. Peking's striving for cooperation in the area of nuclear technology is also developing. Close contacts have already been established with "Kraftwerk Union," a West German concern, and "framatom," a French company, which specialize in producing nuclear reactors. During the visit of French Premier Raymond Barre to Peking at the beginning of this year, the Chinese side made many attempts to attract France in the area of nuclear research and energy, while John Adams, general director of the Euro-European Center for Nuclear Research in Meyern (Switzerland), who has also visited China, admitted that he has been a target of intensified attempts to obtain information on the newest achievements in nuclear physics.

A wave of indignation swept over the world because of the U.S. intention to begin mass production of the neutron bomb. In China there was not a single protest against this deadly weapon, which is designed precisely for striking at densely populated territories. On the contrary, the idea was approved in a most extravagant manner. The press published poems by Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, the former minister of defense, and (Chiang I-ping), deputy chief of staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, devoted to the neutron bomb.

A poem by Fang I, member of the CCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the State Council and deputy president of the Chinese Academy of Science, dealing with a "military-technological theme" was published along with a comment that "the successful conduct of experiments with atomic

and hydrogen bombs, the launching of satellites and their successful return mark a new level of Chinese science and technology." The commentator significantly added that "everything the West can do the East (in other words, China) can do better."

In a harsh article on 28 January the PEOPLE'S DAILY scored the USSR for "objecting to the neutron bomb with a pretended serious face." As for President Carter's decision to postpone the final decision on production of the neutron bomb, NCNA announced on 8 April that this decision had only been made because of Soviet pressure. "The Soviet threats and blackmail toward the West on the issue of the neutron bomb were rejected by military and political circles as well as by Western public opinion."

What is the "public opinion" that NCNA writes about? Neil Cameron, the "hawks" of the U.S. Congress or the retired NATO generals who visit Peking? Anyway, in the Chinese press there was not even a single line about the spontaneous campaign against this barbarous weapon which covered the five continents. Furthermore, on 24 April the PEOPLE'S DAILY called the U.S. President's decision "a concession to the USSR" and termed the SALT negotiations "a bargain and a lie." According to the PEOPLE'S DAILY, the neutron bomb is a "shield" while the Soviet tanks are "a spear." "The USSR allows only itself to have a spear, while denouncing the right of others to have a shield."

These provocative statements of the Chinese press hardly require any comment. China's strategic goal is to involve the USSR and the United States in a war between themselves. Every initiative on limiting the means of mass destruction is rejected in principle by Peking, which until now has stubbornly refused to sign the pact banning nuclear tests, the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons technology, and other initiatives the dynamic force behind which is the USSR. The transparent hints in poetical form leave no doubt that just as soon as it is technologically possible China will begin production of the neutron weapon. As for the sincere wishes of a billion people, including the multimillion Chinese people, that new and deadly weapons be excluded from the world arsenal--they mean nothing to the Chinese leadership and its scheme regarding the inevitability of World War III.

The time when the United States thought that decades would elapse before it found itself within the range of Chinese rockets is over. Dean Rusk, former U.S. secretary of state, once said with great pathos and alarm: "I tremble at the thought of a billion Chinese armed with nuclear weapons." Will Washington remember these words of warning? Or will it continue to display the "spirit of Munich," according to which Hitler had to attack the East first?

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

STANISHEV SPEAKS AT MEETING IN YUGOSLAVIA

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 21 Jun 78 AU

[Text] The BCP Central Committee delegation led by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, that is attending the 11th LCY Congress, today visited the town of Zrenjanin, center of the largest municipality in Vojvodina. Milovan (Shogorov), secretary of the municipal LCY Committee, cordially welcomed the members of the Bulgarian party delegation. The BCP Central Committee delegation was also a guest at the (Serbo Mikhal) Industrial-Agrarian Combine, the largest enterprise in this part of Banat and Vojvodina and one of the largest industrial-agrarian combines in Yugoslavia.

A cordial meeting was held between the collective of the industrial-agrarian combine and the BCP Central Committee delegation. Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, who was welcomed with applause, delivered the following speech:

Dear comrades, as representatives of the BCP Central Committee, we are particularly happy that we have the opportunity to be with you during the days of the 11th LCY Congress and to meet with your front-rank working collective. Please accept, dear Yugoslav brothers and sisters, the most cordial greetings and best wishes of the Bulgarian working people and the Bulgarian communists to the working people in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and to all working people in the SFRY. Your splendid and fruitful region is widely known in Bulgaria as a granary of Yugoslavia and as a center of developed industry and culture.

The working people and peasants of Vojvodina have the deserved reputation of being good, diligent farmers of initiative in their land and in the enterprises, as well as of being studious and of high culture in production and in everyday life. From the very beginning of our visit to your hospitable country, our impressions have eloquently confirmed your good reputation. The peoples of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SFRY are permanently linked with the past and present, with common interests and strivings. The relations of cooperation between our communist parties originated from the very beginning of the socialist ideas in the Balkans. In the common struggle

against fascism and capitalism, these close ties have expanded and strengthened and also turned into a solid basis for the comprehensive development of the relations between our countries and peoples under the conditions of socialism.

The Bulgarian people highly appraise the selfless heroism and self-sacrifice of the Yugoslav peoples manifested during the difficult national liberation war and also their significant contribution to the total defeat of fascism.

Today we enjoy sincerely and in a fraternal manner the successes which the SFRY peoples are achieving in building socialism. Our peoples are more and more associating with each other, they become acquainted and closer. It has become a tradition that Bulgarians and Yugoslavs can meet at the border as good neighbors and as workers for the common cause of socialism, for which they have waged difficult class struggles and made countless numbers of dear sacrifices.

We believe that the ties between our peoples, between our countries can and must become closer and richer in content, because all objective prerequisites exist for this.

Comrades, allow me to briefly acquaint you with the basic problems the BCP is resolving at the present stage of development. The BCP, guided by the general laws on building socialism, is creatively elaborating on the problems of a developed socialist society as well as on the ways to build it in our country by drawing on the experience of the fraternal socialist countries and primarily on the worldwide experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The national party conference was recently held in Bulgaria. The BCP Central Committee decided to convene this conference in order to discuss in details and with communist exactingness the problem of perfecting the socialist organization of labor and the planned management of the economy as decisive factors for the intensification of the economy, for high efficiency and quality, improving the people's well-being and further building a mature socialist society in Bulgaria. The balance sheet drawn by the national party conference during the 2 years since the 11th BCP Congress shows that the material-technical base of socialism has substantially expanded. The strategic slogan launched by the party "efficiency and quality--quality and efficiency," has been successfully implemented into life. The Party's course toward more fully meeting the material and cultural needs of the peoples has been successfully fulfilled. Further successes were achieved in the sphere of science, art and culture, in the enhancement of socialist conscientiousness, in the social activity of the working people and the further perfection of socialist way of life.

The BCP builds its relations with the communist and workers parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and also in

a spirit of unity and fraternal cooperation. Internationalism for us is a dialectic unity between each party's responsibility toward the workers class and the people of its country and the responsibility toward the common communist cause. The BCP is consistently guided by the principles bequeathed by Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov in its efforts to expand and deepen cooperation with the LCY and in relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SFRY.

We note with pleasure that during the past few years, substantial progress has been achieved in the development of the bilateral economic exchange. The political contacts and ties in some spheres of science, education and culture intensified, the positive results achieved can become a good basis for further developing relations.

We sincerely wish that a broad and comprehensive cooperation will be developed between our two neighboring countries to a degree that is in keeping with the existing possibilities and with our mutual interests.

We believe that the decisions of the 11th LCY Congress will give a further impetus to building socialism in Yugoslavia and will contribute to the common struggle by the socialist countries and all democratic and peace-loving forces to make detente irreversible and to further strengthen peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

Dear comrades, before we depart we would like to present a modest gift to your working collective--the Georgi Dimitrov's bust. For our party and for each Bulgarian communist, Georgi Dimitrov's name and image is a symbol of everything that is most valuable and cherished, a symbol of a selfless loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the workers class, toward Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

While presenting the bust of this great son of Bulgaria and tireless worker for friendship and cooperation between our peoples, we most cordially convey wishes for further and greater success in labor, for good health and personal happiness.

Long live the friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav communists, between the Bulgarian people and the SFRY peoples!

Long live and may the unity and cohesion of socialist countries, the world communist and workers movement and of all revolutionary forces in the world be consolidated!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

Long live communism!

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ARMY DAILY MARKS ILINDEN UPRISING'S ANNIVERSARY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Jun 78 p 3 AU

[Article by Docent Yordan Shopov: "Freedom's Banner Did Not Fall," in connection with the upcoming 75th anniversary of the Ilinden-Transfiguration-Day Uprising]

[Text] The Ilinden-Transfiguration-Day Uprising in its struggle against the Ottoman yoke in Macedonia and Edirne-Thracia is a remarkable development for the Bulgarian people. The Berlin Congress again left these lands in the Ottoman Empire. The population suffered heavily under the disintegrating Ottoman feudal social system. This is why the population continued its national-liberation struggle which the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee, led by Karavelov, Levski and Botev started in the 1870's. In 1893 in Salonica, Dame Gruev, Dr Khristo Tatarchev, Petur Poparsov and others established a revolutionary organization which set as its goal the liberation of Macedonia and the Edirne's lands, while in 1895 a Supreme Macedonian-Edirne Committee was established in Sofia which had to unite the efforts of the many Macedonian and Thracian associations in the country that were formed with the purpose of rendering assistance to the liberation struggle.

In order to establish unity between the two committees, the Revolutionary Organization Central Committee in Salonica sent Gotse Delchev and Gyorche Petrov to Sofia. Upon the initiatives of these two revolutionaries, the Macedonian and Edirne associations collected money and weapons that were sent to the fighters in Macedonia and Edirne-Thracia. Many patriots went to the enslaved lands as leaders or detachment members. The people around the palace made some attempts to subvert the revolutionary movement of the supreme committee; however, they encountered intense resistance in this respect. The 1902 uprising in the Gorna Dzhumaya area, which was organized by them, gave good reason to the Ottoman authorities to intensify the terror. They undertook special measures to utterly crush the revolutionary movement. The blow was mainly directed against the Bulgarian population. A report by the French consul in Salonica gives us a good picture of that time: "Undoubtedly," he reports, "there are many other causes for the rearmament of

the Bulgarians against the Turkish domination. To all those factors which provoked the 1876 uprising must also be added the Berlin Treaty's stipulations: the promised reforms, the accomplishment of which have never been mentioned and, mainly, the proximity of a border behind which their people are full master of themselves, whereas on the other side of the border they are the last among the Christian population."

Preparing the uprising, the revolutionary organization proceeded from two circumstances: in addition to the Bulgarians living in Macedonia and the Edirne lands there were also Turks, Albanians, Wallachians, Jews, Serbs (in old Serbia) and others in these areas. Besides this, the liquidation of the Ottoman yoke had no effect on the interests of the great powers. This is why at the 1896 congress, when the organization was founded, it gave up the principle of nationality. A new statute was worked out according to which the organization changed its name and composition--instead of Bulgarian Macedonian-Edirne committees it adopted the name Secret Macedonian-Edirne Revolutionary Organization. Membership in this organization was open not only to Bulgarians as the first statute provided but to anyone without regard to faith or nationality, anyone who desired autonomy to be achieved. Thus the revolutionary movement rallied all those oppressed. The idea of establishing autonomy alleviated the other countries' fear of upsetting the balance. Thus the Secret Macedonian-Edirne Revolutionary Organization eliminated all internal and foreign hindrances in the struggle.

These were the ideas with which the revolutionary organization began its preparatory work for the uprising. The liberation of Macedonia, as Dimitur Blagoev pointed out at that time, was a continuation of the cause of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee led by Levski and Botev. Their followers Dame Gruev, Gyorche Petrov and others flew the banner of freedom under extraordinarily difficult conditions in the Balkans and in Europe.

In the beginning of January 1903, the Secret Macedonian-Edirne Revolutionary Organization decided to organize an uprising. The disputes aroused by this decision among the revolutionary figures brought about a confirmation of the combined tactics for its implementation.

Following the meeting between Gotse Delchev and Dame Gruev in Salonica in the beginning of April 1903, the organization completely adopted the program of the uprising. It was decided to begin during the summer. Gotse Delchev left Salonica for Ali Butush where he met the leaders of the Seres Okrug. However, he was shot dead on 4 May. Dame Gruev went to Smilevo where the congress of the Bitola Okrug was expected to take place. At about the same time, by the end of April 1903, the assaults in Salonica were carried out with the purpose of inviting Europe to force the Sultan to alleviate the situation of the enslaved people. At the local congresses held in Smilevo, "Petrova Niva" and Standzha Mountain (and during the uprising itself at the "Livadka" site and in the Pirin Mountains), the revolutionary organization confirmed the Salonica decision on the uprising and confirmed the tactics connected with the struggle itself. A general uprising occurred in the

Bitola and Edirne areas and intensified detachment activities, not involving the population, were expected to be organized. The fire had to start at individual localities at different times so that it could last longer and thus provoke Europe's intervention.

On 2 August (Ilinden) the signal for the uprising started in Smilevo. The first attack against the enslaver followed shortly. It was a brief one. The Turkish troops panicked. On the same day the fire engulfed all of Bitola Okrug. During the heavy and unequal struggle, the developments repeated themselves in each uprising. There was another thing which was new in this case. For the first time in the Balkan's history, fighters of different nationalities shook hands in a fraternal way. Thus the Republic of Krushevo, the first in the Balkans, emerged.

The uprising in the Edirne Okrug began on 19 September (Transfiguration Day). Within the next few days it encompassed all the settlements, with the exception of Malko Turnovo. The uprising in the Seres Okrug was not as large as expected. Delchev's death, poor coordination with the detachments and hesitations of some committees restricted the detachment's activities. The most severe struggles took place in the area of Melnik.

By the end of September, the uprising started losing ground. No assistance was offered. Bitola Okrug's staff which included Dame Gruev, Boris Sarafov and Atanas Lozanchev sent a letter to the Bulgarian Government asking for help--however, without any results. The government had been warned by the great powers not to allow any war with Turkey to occur. Europe again proposed some reforms. Under these conditions, the staff decided to discontinue the uprising at the end of September. The bloody retreat began. The discrepancies between the great powers and the Balkan countries facilitated the enslaver. The defenseless population became the scapegoat at the time of vengeance. In this connection, Dimitur Blagoev said: "Turkey has now truly carried out the most cruel and mass annihilation--not of the 'insurgents,' but of the peaceful Bulgarian population.

The democratic public in Europe expressed strong dissatisfaction with the great powers' stand and it also expressed indignation over this massacre. Bulgaria's reaction was particularly strong and sensitive. The outrages in Macedonia and Edirne incited the nationalistic feeling to an extreme extent. The only thing which the patriotic Bulgarians could do, however, was to share their food with the distressed refugees and alleviate their suffering.

The Ilinden-Transfiguration-Day Uprisings had no success because the fighters were left alone against a great empire. This, however, exacerbated the crisis within itself by creating prerequisites for a further development of the revolutionary movement.

The Bulgarian people bow their heads before the heroic deed and patriotism of the thousands of heroes who gave their lives in the name of freedom. Continuing the international traditions of the fighters of the glorious 1903, socialist Bulgaria today highly holds up the banner of cooperation and good neighborliness among the Balkan peoples in the name of mankind's peace and progress.

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE, BREMEN IN DISPUTE OVER GRANTING OF EXIT PERMITS TO CSSR SCIENTISTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 23 Jun 78 p 4

[Article by Lilo Weinsheimer: "Hanse City of Bremen Does Not Accept Prague's Refusal in Silence"]

[Text] Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Bonn, Jiri Gotz, received a letter from Bremen last Thursday. The sender wishes that he might read it with care. The sender, Horst-Werner Franke, Senator for Science and Art of the Free and Hanse City of Bremen, requests the ambassador in his letter to inform the CSSR Government of the Bremen Senate's concern over a noncomprehensible decision. This concern was caused by the fact that two CSSR scientists, Jan Kren and Vaclav Kural, did not receive an exit permit allowing them to leave their home country in order to teach in the University of Bremen as visiting professors.

Professors Kren (born 1930) and Kural (born 1928) were supposed to spend 1 year in the University of Bremen, teaching Southeast European history of the nineteenth and twentieth century, beginning 1 April. Information given by experts on both scientists was excellent. A laudation given by the East Europe Institute in Berlin states: "Giving Kren and Kural a possibility of scientific work means to support methodically well founded, experienced, productive and inspiring scientists."

Notes from the same source make understandable why both famous scientists have been disregarded in the CSSR since 1970: "Their scientific activities finally forced Kren and Kural to take a political stand in reevaluation of groupings (emigration to the West, national resistance), as well as to active cooperation in rehabilitation of surviving persons."

The Academic Senate of the University of Bremen unanimously issued a call on both scientists to work as visiting professors in August 1977. Senator Franke agreed. Kren and Kural applied for exit permits in October 1977. In February 1978 they received a reply indicating that their stay in Bremen would be possible only by emigration. They were requested to apply for

emigration passports. (Bearers of this type of passport may not--according to knowledgeable sources--return to their home country without having obtained special permission.) Both historians informed the University and the senator, that these developments endanger their Czechoslovak citizenship and the risks cannot be accepted because of their families.

The Bremen mayor and deputy chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, Hans Koschnick, requested mediating assistance from the Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Genscher passed to the CSSR Foreign Minister a paper, hoping to reach a positive solution by the end of February. The embassy of the German Federal Republic in Prague also participated. The embassy was informed in April that professors Kren's and Kural's application for exit permits have been "definitely refused." There was a total lack of explanation.

Senator Franke wrote the CSSR Ambassador in Bonn: "I do not need to explain to you that the temporary teaching activity of your compatriots in a Federal Republic university may signify excellent progress in understanding among the nations. Our nations are still in a situation which makes efforts leading to such an understanding necessary. Prominent scientists from the CSSR would certainly make excellent ambassadors to our students!"

CSO: 3103

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

PRISON FOR REGIME CRITIC--An East Berlin court has sentenced Werner Molik, 27-year-old economist, to 18 months in prison for "defamation of the state." The sentence was pronounced on 5 June 1978. Molik and his wife reportedly were arrested on 5 September 1977, after they had applied six times for an exit permit for themselves and their daughter. Molik is also alleged to have criticized human rights violations in the GDR. [Text] [Zuerich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 1 Jul 78 p 2]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

PAPER REDEFINES LIMITS OF UNITY AFTER KADAR DEBRECEN SPEECH

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Jun 78 p 3

[Article by Laszlo Rozsa: "The Limits of Unity"]

[Text] There were two aspects of Janos Kadar's visit in Debrecen which Hungarian public opinion took exactly for the symbolic strengthening of socialist national unity policy. One was the meeting at the white table and the free talks with leading people of public life, chiefly representatives of the intelligentsia. The other was the visit in the historical Protestant college and the meeting with Protestant church leaders. At one meeting, a quotation from the April session of the Central Committee decorated the hall: "Socialist national unity expresses the constructive unity of every class and stratum of society."

But the sites of the meetings, without slogans and in themselves, also attested to this. In the fact that this meeting — including the one with the workers in the Debrecen factory unit of the Hungarian Ballbearing Works and with the working peasants of the Nadudvar Red Star Producer Cooperative — spoke to every important stratum of our society, we must see the natural manifestation of our policy and not the minutely calculated requirements of protocol. We saw the manifestation of that policy which always placed appropriate emphasis on the building and fostering of socialist national unity and its broadening on ideological principles.

On Solid Bases

It is, however, the sign of the times and the index of the political maturity of our people that these emphases do not give rise to misunderstandings or illusions. On the contrary, the broad bases and the natural limits of socialist unity remain evident. At the same time, it is also well expressed that the basis which makes possible "the constructive unity of every class and stratum of society," is solid, and the difference which may exist in the approach to the given affairs of classes, strata and groups is a relative one. But in any event, it is of such kind that the mutual recognition and acknowledgment of the differences does not disturb, in fact it strengthens, open and frank cooperation in the development of the socialist order in Hungary, and in increasing the intellectual and material well-being of our people.

When we speak of unity, we have been used to referring, for the sake of simplicity, to two characteristically different examples. One is the close unity of communists and those outside the party, and their cooperation in every area. Here, very frequently, not only is there no question of political differences but also none of ideological ones; because, for example, hundreds of non-members participate in various forms of Marxist-Leninist party teaching, including Marxist-Leninist night universities. Hence, the nonmember who is communist in spirit and Marxist-Leninist in conviction is an everyday concept.

The other reference is to the joint work of the materialists and the people of religious convictions in every practical activity which takes place for the benefit of our country. As for the Marxists, they naturally think in categories of class relations; these are what they regard as determining in policy, and not whether someone is a party member or not, a materialist or a believer. To put it more exactly, they regard as primary the socialist social structure, the new relations deriving therefrom, commonality of interests and the community of goals, and as secondary the differences which come from adherence to world outlooks. But it is very important that this is also true the other way around: the nonmembers or the religiously inclined see, in general, no political or conscience hindrance to close cooperation with the communists. In fact, they openly acknowledge the historical necessity of this joint work, its inevitability and usefulness.

Reference has been made in various quarters — let us do it here too — to the 1976 article of Bishop Jozsef Cserhat, which is appreciable also because it clearly emphasizes this historical necessity and inevitability. If you want it so, it comes from the "other side." "The faithful in Hungary wish to serve in external and internal freedom, to exert themselves with the faithful's conviction for the raising of our people by acknowledging and making their own the values and promises latent in socialism." This is fully unambiguous and clear, and it merits special quotation perhaps because everyone knows that chronologically we succeeded last with the Roman Catholic Church in doing away with all the past and present hindrances which could have written question marks on the pages of cooperation between believers and socialists, between the socialist Hungarian state and the church.

Since practical works and events in the time that has passed since then have struck their strengthening seal on the announcements as well as on the spirit of the full textual context of the quoted item, we are justified in referring to it today also. This is all the more so because the quoted item — while it examines relations with the present Hungarian reality from the viewpoint of religious ideology — does not leave any political ambiguity: "If a change has occurred in the life of our people which in comparison to the previous life undoubtedly represents a development, then we must hold with the people, believers and non-believers alike."

If we examine the present socialist national unity from the historical point of view, we must arrive at the conclusion that the present political unity of our society has surpassed a former phase, and in place of the old, new problems, for the most part, related to the relations and building of a developed

socialist society, have appeared on the horizon. Perhaps we can risk it that they are more concrete and less general than those up to now. I do not mean to say that the earlier ideological problems are over with or bypassed, because this is not what we are talking about. The opposing ideas — where in reality they are oppositional — cannot and should not be avoided. Their names need not be spelled out, but we must say them in the future, too. But for the most part, these do not appear today in abstract form and in the wake of the political radiation of great social antitheses. Rather, they show up as concrete matters, concrete phenomena, judgment, mode of approach, and in concrete attitudinal forms.

Where Debate Exists, and Where Not

There is hardly any debate in our society today, for example, whether we should develop work productivity, efficiency, public education, or whether we should construct more housing. Nor is there debate whether we should solidify public morality, work discipline, or reduce bureaucracy and broaden socialist democracy. But there is debate over what this requires of the individual in a given case, of the group in which he works, of the community of which he is a part.

There is also no debate over whether the general, common feeling of patriotism is an indispensable moving force in our present day society. But there can be essential differences as to whether the nationalist way of thinking and the questioning of the ideas of internationalism are suitable to socialist patriotism. There is also no debate over our desire to keep on regularly raising living standards, the well-being of the working man, a more balanced life for him, and more and more opportunities for rest, relaxation and entertainment. But there are very great differences over priorities, and on the basis of what kind of principles of justice should we raise the living standards of the strata and groups in society; what kind of ideas and what kind of culture we should impart our youth in school and life. Also over what goals, ideas of life, moral values should guide them and the other members of society. We do not even mention the attitudes which require critical watchfulness, principles and clear positions stemming from the ideological and political requirements of the international class struggle.

To put it more concretely, the 11th Party Congress worked out a long range program for the party, the communists and the whole Hungarian society for the building of a developed socialist society. Our society is now operating under this sign, and we can regard this as the foundation for the further development of socialist national unity. But who could maintain that everyone, without reservation, accepts in its entirety and makes his own what with full conviction and total identification only the communists, the solidly committed men undertake. We must see our society as it is, and the limits of unity will also be limits corresponding thereto. It is one matter that in basic questions the party wishes to convince all our citizens, and the greatest possible number in important questions, as to the correctness of its position. But from the start, it counts on the fact that in our society there will be ideological differences for a long time to come which will have an effect on the development of outlook,

receptivity, attitude and world view. It would help no one — and from the standpoint of our cause it would be directly harmful — if we did not face up to this consciously.

6691

CSO : 2500

HUNGARY

SOCIAL SCIENCES TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR CHANGING SOCIETY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 May 78 pp 4, 5

[Article based on the presentations of Kalman Kulcsar, Gyorgy Ranki, and Miklos Szabolcsi at the conference of the vice presidents of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries held at Budapest: "The Role of Social Sciences in Directing Society"]

[Text] Even in general we can experience nowadays the constantly increasing importance of the sciences, their practical usefulness, and related thereto the increasing expenditure of intellectual and material forces on the development of scientific research. In recent decades, however, attention has turned to an increasingly greater degree toward the social sciences. Obviously, one of the main causes of this is the increase in the consciousness of social direction, which is especially true of the socialist countries.

Discovery of the objective processes characteristic of a society is indispensably necessary, above all, for the conscious development of society in order that on the basis of knowledge thus gained historically realistic — therefore, realizable — goals can be set.

The setting of goals, however, is the most sensitive of points in conscious social formation. It requires both a look into a certain scientifically based future, that is, the projection of processes existing at present into the future, as well as an analysis to what extent these processes can be influenced, and at what points they can be guided, by intervention, into a direction considered to be desirable from some point of view. No matter to what extent the setting of the goals of social formation is a political task, it requires in any event a social science base.

The setting of goals is a social and economic policy task. Economic policy, however, cannot neglect taking into account those social and economic interrelationships which basically define the possibilities and lines of economic development. Perhaps the most important ground for Marxist-Leninist economic science is research for discovering these interrelationships and clarifying the operational mechanisms and consumption possibilities.

Therefore, the scientific importance of research designed to provide a scientific basis for the further development of economic policy is given precisely by the fact that the general task of this research is to prepare economic policy decision making and planning work, to clarify the factors of our economic development, the limits of their use and their characteristics, and to point out, on bases of comparing conditions and goals, the various possibilities for planned and symmetrical development. This research must constantly discover the new circumstances which influence the factors of economic development, those effects which new circumstances exercise on development. They must investigate, for example, the changes of sources that can be used in an extensive and intensive mode, and the effects of world economic processes and of advancing CEMA integration on the economy of individual socialist countries.

There are few branches of social science like economics in which social requirements are presented so directly, and the reality discovering and reality forming role of the science with its results is so directly realized. It has now for long been a requirement of our economic policy practice that in the formation of economic strategy, it should utilize the lessons of scientific analysis in long and short range planning. For this very reason, the specific "orders" of practice have given great incentive and help to research, which in part research has been able to return.

In the conscious development of society, however, we cannot do without the discovery of "spontaneous" mechanisms operating in society (including social processes and phenomena as well as the mechanisms related to human attitude) and an understanding of their possibilities for use and influence. A society can be shaped only to a certain extent, and this pliability is significantly influenced not only by the basic objective processes in a given society but also by its "spontaneous" mechanisms.

In this respect, the social sciences must meet two requirements. Above all, they must afford reliable knowledge about the processes and interrelationships in a society in order that the spontaneous mechanisms which operate in a concealed way can be discovered, their characteristics described, and on the basis of all these things we should be able to evaluate the degree of their spontaneity and influence their possibilities. The other task is the assessment of that "space" which must be provided the spontaneously operating mechanisms during the conscious development of the society or planning of a given program.

Regarding the latter, it is particularly noteworthy that social phenomena, and in fact social laws, are realized through human behaviors. The multiplicity of human behavior, the complex assumption of a reaction to a given decision, and the many kinds of motivation to behavior are viewpoints that must unconditionally be taken into account.

The choice of those means and the complex approach to the economic, sociological and psychological interrelationships which we want to use in the attainment of the goals require social science research. There are no "neutral" means in society, and therefore the characteristics of the chosen means significantly influence goal attainment. The first question here — which of course

requires a knowledge of the characteristics of the means — is whether the means in question is suitable to the attainment of the given task, the solution of the given social problem, or whether its use will assure the desired result. Particularly characteristic problems are raised by the application of law, of statutory provisions, as means in the conscious guidance and planning process. As means, the statutory provision has only limited suitability, on one hand for the solution of social problems, and on the other hand as a consequence of its certain self-development it is also the carrier of such characteristics, even values which — even if they are changed in the course of history — significantly influence the effectiveness of legal regulation.

In planned social formation, of course, it is not only legal regulation that has such an instrumental character. In essence, for example, the whole economic management system is a means which is the executor of (and at the same time to a certain extent the shaper) of economic policy. The organizations operating in the economic guidance mechanism as "means" also have their own characteristic goals, the integration of which (for example, enterprise goals) gives further scientific and practical tasks.

In the problem area of the relation between social demands and social sciences, particular attention must be paid to participation in preparing decisions, or predicting the consequences of decisions according to possibility, and then the analysis of the consequences themselves, and their evaluation as related to the goals. On one hand, we find examples for revealing the unexpected and undesired consequences of a given decision (for example, the interpretation of economic efficiency in the dimension of social efficiency, or the evaluation of complex consequences of certain socio-political decisions — which in some cases were also embodied in legal regulation), and on the other hand, there may arise the analysis of the decision and its consequences as related to the ideological bases of the desired goal. In the looser sense, therefore, the investigation of the decision mechanisms also belongs to establishing the scientific bases of decisions.

The increasing importance of social sciences is also promoted by the circumstance that in our times the introduction of practically every scientific achievement (natural science, technical, etc.) requires the collaboration of the social sciences.

In Hungary, there has been incisive study of the social factors defining the industrial use of research results or influencing the operational introduction of new technology. These investigations proceeded from the assumption that these factors can be approached on three levels, namely, at the level of a) the so-called macrostructure of the economy as a whole, b) the organizations, and c) the individual's consciousness. At all three levels, of course, the effect of the other two is present, and in reality these levels can be separated from one another only for the purposes of analysis. The investigations verified this assumption, and therewith the direct importance of the social sciences in production and technical development. They established,

for example, the unfavorable effect of the relative lag between the industrial technological and organizational level on scientific research, including the negative consequences deriving from the lack of organic unity between industry and science; they exposed the role of interest and power relations in research-development and research receiving organizations as well as the importance of performance motivation in successful research-development programs, etc.

In the relations between social demands and social sciences, the question rises as to what extent the latter are of a "critic" nature. In the discovery of reality with the means of social science — as we are speaking of human relations — the critical content is always present in the criticism of human action. This criticism may appear, for example, in the process of social formation, in relating the goal with the development of reality, or in the analysis of the consequences of a certain goal. The essence is this — where does criticism start from, in relation to what can the discovery of truth be evaluated as criticism. To put it more exactly, does criticism relate to a historically developing social reality, and in this way does it help in solving the actual problems of society, or does it proceed from a model removed from reality and approach social reality in this way? We believe that it is with the former approach that social science research can best serve the two goals: the recognition of reality and cooperation in the development of reality, and the scientific results coming from this starting point are in fact capable of having an effect on social practice.

6691

CSO : 2500

HUNGARY

MTI REVIEW BOOK ON 1944-62 HUNGARIAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Budapest MTI in English 1103 GMT 21 Jun 78 LD

["History of the Hungarian People's Democracy 1944-1962"--MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, 21 Jun (MTI)--Under the quoted title Hungary's Kossuth Publishers of Budapest released a book in 12,000 copies for the recently terminated Book Week 1978. The editorial work was in the hands of Professor Sandor Balogh and Historian Sandor Jakab, two eminent authorities of their line, who are maintaining the internationalist view that the common characteristics of the social evolution of central and eastern Europe are determining factors for the changes in Hungarian history. Under this aspect they present the national features in the democratic and later in the socialist transformation of the workership and peasantry.

The authors distinguish three phases in the evolutionary process since 1944. The first is known as the phase of democratic worker-peasant dictatorship (1944-1948). The Hungarian revolution--they assert--had sprung from a wide antifascist concentration which at first included some liberal bourgeois elements as well. The land reform of 1945 speeded up the revolutionary process, but the big capital in Hungary, unlike in the neighboring people's democracies, was only nationalized step by step.

The second phase, covering the period 1948-1956, was that of laying down the fundamentals of socialism. These chapters are dealing in great detail with the profound social changes and their effects in the spheres of policy, economy, society and culture. This was the time when the misconceived economic and social trends of pseudoleftist dogmatism (the Matyas Rakosi group) and right-wing revisionism (the Imre Nagy group) came into collision, with the consequence to estrange for a time not only the middle class but also considerable parts of the workers from the idea of proletarian dictatorship. General dissatisfaction broke loose mainly over a temporary drop of the living standards in 1950-1952 and its all too slow recovery in 1953-1956.

In following up the process as the political crisis was leading to the outburst of a counter-revolutionary up-rise, the book reaffirms the analysis

that the Provisional Central Committee of the HSWP had made at their session on 2-5 December 1956. The authors describe the entangled activities of dogmatism, revisionism, domestic bourgeois revolt and international imperialism as the four main reasons of the counter-revolution and are laying emphasis on the internal social factors. "The Rakosi-Gero clique which had exercised decisive influence in matters of party and government policy, turned, as from 1948, off the established course of Marxism-Leninism. Equally great responsibility for the outbreak of the counter-revolution rested with the revisionist wing of the party opposition that had chosen Imre Nagy for their banner."

The closing chapters cover the period of consolidation 1956-1962, restituting Lenin's norms of party and state leadership, presenting the process under which the "Hungarian model" of a political system, with a wide popular and national unity front as its mainstay, has asserted itself.

CSO: 2500

DEFECTIVE ATTITUDES, DEFECTIVE STRUCTURES SEEN AS RELATED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24, 25 May 78

[Two-part article by Henryk Jankowski]

[24 May 78, p 3]

[Text] The balance of accomplishments, the matters settled, and the problems to be solved made at the Second National Conference of the PZPR leads to one basic conclusion: in the country every zloty and every minute counts, every kilogram of goods that was produced or bought, every installation and every machine, the smallest unit of energy, potential of transportation, in short everything counts which is part of national property considered as a whole. Time and resources have always counted, that is true. But at present they are especially important.

At the same time, we see examples of unconcern, waste, neglect of responsibilities, and sometimes grand gestures in managing public property.

...Once the wrong kind of reinforcement steel was bought abroad, as a result of which already completed housing blocks could not be occupied and, in addition, it was necessary to perform costly reconstruction. Not so long ago an employee of an industrial plant, being tired, shut off the electric power in a combine producing building components and caused several-days-long standstill, because as he stated later, he wanted to have a quiet nap. Articles are being produced which are not always of proper quality. We know instances of acceptance of residential houses with numerous faults. Television and press often give numerous instances of waste of electric energy in various plants and institutions.

It happens that the control organs are unable in an explicit manner to determine faults and responsibilities. The persons at fault send the controllers to other plants and other persons, sometimes they have recourse to the invention of objective difficulties, sometimes they talk about defective structures. In other situations responsibility is washed away

when we hear the arguments that under-strength employment and lack of candidates for particular occupations make it impossible to demand that people work with full efficiency.

These occurrences not only diminish the goods which we have at our disposal and which we distribute, but also in an overwhelming manner influence people's attitudes. The confrontation of requirements for scrupulous saving with exposed waste, of intensive work with make-believe, of initiative with indifference, and of responsibility with the lack of responsibility creates among all honest and dedicated employees the feeling that their endeavors and efforts, frequently made with great expenditure of energy, time, and even sacrifice, do not bring about the corresponding results because they are wasted by negligent and irresponsible workers. The creation of goods is much more difficult than their waste. It happens also that plants or shops that operate well must seemingly include a plant or a shop in a plant with a poor performance.

If, therefore, on one hand all of us realize the elementary truth according to which in society and particularly in the economy there are no accidental achievements, that indeed the quantity and quality of goods intended for distribution is worked out at each work stand, in each enterprise, then the question arises how one should act in order maximally to avoid the occurrence of waste and uneconomical management.

Currently, in theory and journalism one can notice two tendencies aiming at the explanation of sources of shortages, negligence, and tensions. The first of these concerns the admission that everywhere where we have to deal with the above-mentioned disturbing phenomena there also appear irregularities of structures and systems. This proves that the system of organization of management and control is defective, which causes or at least makes possible the occurrence of just such phenomena. The advocates of this concept propose the liquidation of wrongs through the improvement or change of systems. They contend that calling for better and more productive work is ineffective because of the unchanging influence of defective structures.

Another tendency is based on the recognition that, although structures and systems are rational and correct, still they are not always functioning properly because of the weaknesses of the people operating under them. The proponents of such explanations lay stress on widely understood indoctrinating and propagandistic activity aiming at popularization of active attitudes characterized by a sense of duty and social discipline.

Both above-mentioned positions formulate only some aspects of the problem. In reality the results of operation of industrial plants and institutions are nothing else but the result of three factors: conditions, structures, and employee attitudes. Conditions mean the equipment of those plants, their location, possibilities of cooperation, access to raw materials, etc. Structure determines the system of management, organization of production work, and control. Attitudes mean constant dispositions for definite conduct.

One cannot adhere to only one of the above listed factors. Let us point out the fact that the system of organization, control and management is created by people and it functions through people. The structure is, as it were, filtered through attitudes.

The structure itself, however, influences attitudes. Some in the plant are held in great esteem, others are not. Some are promoted and rewarded, others are subjected to fines. These are factors which are not without influence on how people will work and behave and what they would prefer. It is a known fact that in a clique or log-rolling structure, related also to antisocial provincialism, the opportunists, climbers and schemers would come to the fore, but honest people and persons of principle would be removed from management and the decision making process. In that way the defective structure not only is modified in an undesirable direction but also is an essential element of specific negative selection.

Let us try to develop the main thesis of this article, using as an example the problem of assigning and demanding responsibility.

The generally accepted conviction is that responsibility must be assigned and demanded in each case, whereas information about these activities should not always be made public. It seems that this reasoning is inappropriate. Public discontent manifests itself to a higher degree where people know that somebody did not fulfill his responsibilities, neglected something, or outright committed deeds contrary to the principles of social coexistence, and at the same time he did not suffer any visible harm to his reputation or social standing.

Citizens must know that responsibility is demanded. It seems that the practice of informing about this should be made a permanent element of our public life. We are not concerned here with witch hunting sensationalism, or with removing and humiliating people. We are also not concerned with removing somebody as an example.

We are concerned with drawing practical lessons from the very simple truth that not all people work the same way, that not everyone is suitable for the position he occupies, and, moreover, that there are indeed people whose failures and misdeeds should be censured. Realization of this principle will be an essential element of the cadre policy and also a factor influencing the attitudes of people who are in situations similar to those of people who are censured.

This is not, however, the only condition for avoiding disturbing social phenomena. An important condition is the rationalization in social consciousness of the very concept of responsibility. About this in the next article.

[25 May 78, p 3]

[Text] The condition necessary for protection against the rise of negative social phenomena is the rationalization in social consciousness of the very concept of responsibility. In this sphere there exist various types of mystifications and false formulations.

The first mystification is based on the diffusion of the concept of responsibility through propagation of the slogan according to which all of us are responsible for everything. Obviously each citizen, as a citizen, has his share of general responsibility for everything that takes place in the country. It does not follow from this, however, that each citizen should feel responsible for everything that all other individual members of the nation are doing, since responsibility in its broadest, that is, in its philosophical sense, is one thing, and the concrete responsibility borne by each of us by reason of the work he performs, the function he fulfills, and--what is probably most important--his scope of action and decision making is another.

In the distinctive meaning of the word responsibility there exists a direct relationship between the right to make a decision and the possibility for controlling, and influencing the course of processes and events on one hand, and duty and responsibility on the other. After all, responsibility is differentiated. What is objective for one employee may be subjective in relation to somebody else.

The differentiation of responsibility may concern both an individual and also various work establishments and branches of the economy as well. In practice we very seldom reach the sources of actual or objective difficulties. Most often we dwell within the framework of a given place of work, industrial plant or specific branch of the economy. If matters are taken this way, it just may turn out that nobody is at fault, because standstills and shortcomings are the result of "objective" factors. Therefore, the assigning of responsibility, in addition to its concrete side, should be linked with the skill in investigating the whole chain of succeeding links and steps of economic activities in such a way that in the end the particular elements are found where negligence occurred.

Obviously we operate under specific conditions and many times in many spheres the shortcomings of our work are determined by the factor of actual (or relatively) objective difficulties, namely those for which the fault lies outside of the analyzed system.

This is also important from the political point of view. If we do not make those inter-system assignments of responsibility, then most often the general responsibility is ascribed to the "top" or outright to the political system as such. Thus the problem is mystified. If we buy a deficient product, it was produced by a certain person and accepted for marketing

by a certain inspector. If we receive a flat with faults, these faults are the result of the negligent workmanship of certain people, certain construction brigades, enterprises, or industrial associations. These shortcomings may also result because of the poor quality of supplied building parts and, therefore, they are relatively objective in relationship to the immediate contractor, but the subjective lies with the combine which produces them.

By now one can see that there is no way to separate matters, conditions, structures and systems from people's attitudes. We deal here with the mutual influence of the mentioned elements of public life.

When we talk about attitudes as a factor on which the success or lack of success of every undertaking on a national scale largely depends, there is no way not to mention that they are determined not only by the structures and systems at the place of work, but also in a more general way by the general social atmosphere, form of customs, and model of success and social well-being.

As is well known, two concepts exist, two styles of achieving social well-being. One of these, bound up with the capitalistic system and the principle of competition, is based on the aim of achieving individual, private well-being in spite of others and at others' expense. The individual then achieves well-being inasmuch as he breaks away from his group, achieves more favorable status as regards economics and prestige, and also acquires scope for acting, deciding, and assuring an advantageous start for his children, etc.

The second concept, the socialist one, does not negate the value of individual success and well-being but it closely binds their value with the broadly understood social advancement of society treated as a certain whole. Therefore, that advancement and individual well-being may be approved insofar as they are a simple function of the input of an individual's work for the good and welfare of the whole.

Lately, however, one may notice manifestation of custom resulting from the separation of the concept of individual success from the welfare of the whole. Hence the practice of growing rich at any price and of exploiting public office for gaining individual material advantages, and also all sorts of manipulations aimed at acquisition of undue benefits.

Because the principle of reward according to one's work generally functions, people acting in this way are taking the bourgeois stand which they cover with socialist phraseology. They argue that their situation, which is differentiated in a manner which is exceptional and not proportionate to their input of work, is the result of their outstanding achievements. In certain social circles the basis of prestige are possessions, material possibilities, and luxury consumption. This brings about the situation in which an honest dedicated worker, comparing his material situation with that of somebody else particularly favored, begins to feel wronged and underprivileged, or he starts to attach less importance to his own work, judging its value on the basis of income received.

Again, one could analyze this phenomenon one-sidedly. It is possible to argue that some are more modest and honest, while others are devoid of conscience in striving to secure for themselves the best conditions of existence. One can approach the subject structurally, arguing that these differentiations are the result of a defective system for the distribution of goods. After all, we deal here with a mutual interaction. With the most well considered system for the distribution of goods, the significant subjectively motivated infractions may take place. It may also happen that the distribution system demoralizes workers by creating opportunities for them to acquire undue benefits.

The key to the situation is awareness of a certain general truth. Socialism is not something given once and for all and acting automatically, as if above people's heads. Socialism is millions of attitudes, millions of actions, appraisals and decisions made every day and every hour. Implementation of principles into life is an everyday matter. It is a matter of scrupulous state and public control over both the conditions of action as well as the system of management and organization, the system for distribution of goods and responsibilities, and finally the form of mutual relations among people. This is the task which may and should be realized by party channels and organizations, by individual party members, and also by all citizens.

To advance on a wide front which would not overlook even the smallest parts and social elements is the necessary condition to insure that the further development of Poland will continue in accordance with the strategy worked out by the Sixth Congress and expanded by the Seventh Party Congress.

5238-R
CSO: 2600

CIVIL DEFENSE RELOCATION PROBLEMS ANALYZED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 4, Apr 78 pp 12-15

[Article by Lt Col Dr Kazimierz Suzdalewicz: "Psychological, Morale and Political Propaganda Problems of Population Dispersal"]

[Text] Among the many methods of population protection, dispersal is fundamental under the conditions of universal threat from mass destruction. It consists of an organized relocation of the population from towns and regions which are considered to be especially threatened, to regions that lie outside the borders of the devastations expected under the blows of the opponent. The classification and division of the population into individual groups for dispersal and its execution have been detailed in the relevant documents and materials of the Domestic Civil Defence Inspectorate. The organizational problems of population dispersal have also been discussed at length in the pages of the PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ.

Our considerations will relate to the psychological and morale, the political and propaganda problems and phenomena connected with population dispersal. The dispersal issue has both negative and positive aspects. The latter are linked to the fact that dispersal constitutes a real possibility for the renewal of biological life of many millions of people. Educational-propaganda activity around the dispersal issue to date and in the future assumes an ever larger significance in the work of the organs and forces of civil defense as well as in that of the local authorities and party and political organizations. Based on relevant psychological and pedagogical studies and on practical experience, this problem area can be conventionally divided into several groups.

First, in the difficult situation preceding dispersal, owing to diversionary political and propaganda activity of the opponent, we may encounter such manifestations as spontaneous, uncontrolled self-relocation of the population at times and in directions chosen at will, movements which are the result of fear and panic. Often these groups may direct themselves towards the original residences. We have to count on the fact that in every crowd individuals are found who are especially susceptible to fear and who have a destructive

effect on their environment. Beyond that, there may also be people in a crowd seized by panic who purposefully act in such a manner as to impede the dispersal. In the principles of psychological warfare, the opponent includes these tasks in carrying out military operations on our territory. Such spontaneous and impulsive population shifts can, for instance, produce a breakdown of social bonds, engender disorganization and thus make it impossible to lead the people, which in turn may set off irreversible processes. An even worse situation may arise when inactivity sets in among the people, a state of complete immobility, a so-called psychic paralysis. Man then abdicates from further struggling for survival, is incapable of defending himself or those closest to him or the state.

Secondly, in the face of dispersal various impediments can appear in moral and social attitudes and psychic states of the population. In abandoning his place of residence, often together with his possessions, man will be forced to give up a feeling of ownership in favor of more important goals, to make a decision for an "unknown tomorrow," for the loss of his own property in order to save his life. In particular, the following phenomena are at issue here:

- To overcome the attachment of people to their place of residence (town, district, house), since as a rule they abandon it unwillingly, especially if they are or can be convinced of the possibility of outlasting the war locally, in shelters, recesses or cellars of their own house;

- To reduce the fear of a permanent separation (most frequently without the possibility of prior arrangements), which relates mainly to sudden evacuations of families from threatened regions and of persons not capable of doing defense work, who are counted into the third group of dispersable population;

- To reduce uncertainty as to the further fate, since it will not always be known how long the evacuation is to last and whether the appropriate arrangements have in every respect been provided for;

- To combat egotistical attitudes which find expression in attempts to improve one's own situation at the expense of others, and to demand the co-responsibility of all for the implementation of the entire action.

Thirdly, it is important that before the relocation of the population into the predetermined dispersal region actually occurs, it is necessary to have explored fully the material and housing conditions existing there, the organizational state of readiness for the reception of urban population groups, and the mood and moral-political attitudes of the local civilian population. The inhabitants of regions designated to receive dispersed population require appropriate moral and political preparation. Many problems will crop up before people reach the designated places. The local authorities are responsible for these matters, and they must be prepared for this. One of these problems is the creation of a friendly and warm atmosphere which should make possible the rapid adaptation of the new arrivals to new and difficult cir-

cumstances. A second problem will be the matter of the moral-political preparation of the inhabitants receiving dispersed population to share with it their own property, house, food etc.

Fourthly, there is the problem of organization in all aspects of the socio-political and economic life and of the protection and defense of the dispersed persons in the new habitat. Among many tasks the following need to be counted here: a proper distribution of the dispersed population, e.g., not to separate mothers from children, the ill from their caretakers, and to assign living quarters to entire families insofar as possible; the organization of socio-political life, instruction and work for the young; the provisioning of the dispersed population with food (appropriate food or consumption rations cards can be distributed, or mass feedings may be organized); the provisioning with clothes and personal care items; the organization of employment based on needs and possibilities.

The next question will be the group of issues related to the preparation of the dispersal region with respect to defence. Among others this involves the avoidance of excessive population density, the preparation of shelters, the organization of law and order and information services, and so on. It should be remembered that in modern war there will be no absolute safety. Hence, the necessity results of organizing the protection and defence of the dispersed population against possible secondary consequences of mass destruction weapons and of deploying the appropriate informational and explanatory work in this connection.

Fifthly, the achievement of a high efficiency and discipline of dispersal by means of the requisite organization and management of its execution. This has far reaching significance with respect to the safety of the dispersed population. On the one hand it is connected with a well thought-out organization of the evacuation of cities and the execution of the transfer to the dispersal localities, and on the other hand with an efficient reception and distribution of the population at their destination. It should be taken into account that in this specific period and under the conditions of high emotional stress there may arise--be it under the influence of enemy propaganda or from fear and disorientation--manifestations of asocial activity, profiteering, irresponsibility, and also manifestations of lack of vigilance, unnecessary querulousness, idle chatter and the spreading of incorrect information. These will be exceptional circumstances which may be exploited by forces hostile to socialism and other factious elements. The rumor may even be spread that weapons of mass destruction will shortly be applied against the regions in which the dispersed population is located. In this connection it is worth drawing attention to certain aspects which are characteristic and important from the psychological point of view, as follows:

--rumors and gossip that may easily be purposefully spread by sabotage groups or other hostile elements;

--in order to provoke fear and panic, the enemy may even simulate the employment or operation of such weapons and the like.

In the light of the above morale and psychological issues, the organization of political propaganda work assumes special significance. For that reason we shall now turn to selected tasks and some propositions on that topic.

From the preceding considerations it clearly emerges that the issue of population dispersal comprises many difficult problems of political-ideological, psychological and social nature. Depriving them of their acuity and rendering them harmless will require an organized exertion of political and propaganda influence at the level of the individual urban-industrial agglomerations, voivodships, towns, settlements and communes involved in the dispersal operation. In accordance with these assumptions this campaign will draw many millions of people into our country. The guarantee for the full realization of the activities envisaged in the dispersal plan are moral-political attitudes and psychic states of the population which are appropriately shaped still in peace time. For this reason unceasing work on ideological-political and patriotic upbringing constitutes the basis for the proper morale of the population in the face of threats to the security of the state and threats of war. All efforts of the Party to shape a socialist consciousness and civic-patriotic attitudes strengthening social discipline, to raise respect for the state and its executive organs and observance of the principles of socialist ethics and morality serve to ensure the moral-political unity and readiness of the nation for the achievement of tasks under the difficult conditions of threats and possibly war.

Apart from these general ideological-political tasks for the population classified for dispersal, special significance belongs to the task of supplying it with information about the plans and rules for dispersal, about behavior norms for the period after the issuance of the dispersal order and during the transfer to the new residence as well as in the dispersal region itself. Prior acquaintance of the population with these matters constitutes one of the most important conditions for a rapid relocation of the population in accordance with the plans at the time when the need arises. It is inadmissible to have an unclear interpretation of the dispersal regulations, such as occurred in 1939 in the case of the order by Colonel Umiasztowski to evacuate all men from Warsaw. This can lead to incalculable consequences and arbitrary, uncontrolled population movement in undesired directions. Efficiency of the information activity will be attained by its linkage with the realized dispersal plan, the issuance of that information which is necessary for easing the effectuation of the dispersal operation. Concretely this will concern: explanation and justification of the substance, meaning and principles of the dispersal operation; information about the manner of notifying the inhabitants and the staff at places of employment about the dispersal order, the course of all evacuation activities and the behavior principles; information about the collection points, registration-information points, loading points and target residence locations after the dispersal.

It is clear that this type of information relating to orders and prohibitions would need to be constantly repeated and suitably reinforced during training in the Civil Defense and at defense training sessions and exercises. It should be remembered that this activity lies exclusively in the jurisdiction of the local party authorities and the political-propaganda organs and forces subordinated to them which in peace time are active in the concern for the patriotic and defense preparation and education of society.

Under conditions of definite threats to the safety of the state, propaganda activity at the individual stages of the organization and implementation of the population dispersal will support all efforts resulting from the planned undertakings in this sphere. Above all it will exert its influence on the morale, the psychic state and the behavior of the civilian population. Composure and deliberation will depend mainly on the faultless operation of the individual installations envisaged in the dispersal plan, and particularly on that of the registration-information points, and also on the proper direction of the influence exerted by information and propaganda on the human masses relocated in the correct directions.

The registration-information points are a substantial element of the dispersal plan for the staff of a given enterprise or an institute or the non-working population. The purpose of these points is the provision of operative information relating to the dispersal operation and the issuance to the interested parties of the appropriate documents and of leaflet propaganda materials informing people of the fundamental rights and obligations during the implementation of dispersal. The experience of selected exercises tells us that a disciplined and well-planned relocation of large population groups can be achieved by means of the organization of teams of party members in the individual transport or foot columns who would perform person to person explanatory work in the area of maintenance of social order and discipline and would exert an influence on the correct behavior of the population during dispersal. They would see to the uninterrupted issuance of orders, communiques and explanations from mobile radio cars and other technical propaganda instruments, the organization of information points at the larger crossings and roads used by the population transfer movement, and to the distribution of suitable prepared leaflets, instructions and information sheets on particular dispersal tasks. By utilizing various propaganda means and with the application of the proper work forms and methods, it is possible to rapidly reach even the largest population groups and to explain to them the most significant problems and activities relating to the dispersal operation. It is obvious that the methods of propaganda activity will be dependent on the concrete military and political situation, the forces and means at hand and the time available. Certainly it will be more difficult to operate in the case of a hidden dispersal, and much easier if all accessible means of mass information and propaganda can be put to use.

After the relocation of the population in the dispersal area, it will be necessary to organize the socio-political life. At that time, conditions will come into existence for the deployment and application of broader forms

and methods of work with the population than during the preceding period. In the first place it will be possible to effect an evaluation of the course of the dispersal operation, to set the directions for further activity, and to bring new tasks to the local and the newly-arrived population with all accessible means of operation, informing at the same time about the political and military situation in the world and in the country and informing the dispersed population about the situation in their regions of permanent residence. In the explanatory work it would be necessary to bring to the consciousness and full understanding of the people the tasks standing in front of them, without abdicating from the moral and psychological preparation for further life and work in the difficult war-time situation, the incitation of hatred for the enemy, and the intensification of feelings of patriotism, of trust in the allies and of limitless devotion to the people's power and the party as well as of resistance to hostile propaganda.

The dispersal region makes possible the development of forms of political and propaganda work. It will be possible to organize and resume the work in the party, youth, social and defence organizations, to organize the membership in Local Civil Defence Units (TOS) and groups, to prepare and issue agitation and propaganda materials (leaflets, news sheets, special announcements, and the like). This activity must serve to counteract the ill mood and discouragement which arises on the background of a difficult physical, psychological, social and economic situation in the dispersal region, and to uphold a high state of political morale, to reenforce discipline and to integrate the new environment.

Summing up, it needs to be stated that psychological and morale problems, as well as political and propaganda issues, assume--and will assume in the future --in times of population dispersal a unique significance. Hence the need exists for their discussion, amplification and elaboration during a series of instruction courses and exercises organized together with the civil defence forces.

9108
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POLAND

CAUSES OF FRENCH LEFT'S ELECTORAL DEFEAT VIEWED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 12, 25 Mar 78 p 14

[Article by Leszek Kolodziejczyk: "Why Did the Left Lose?"]

[Text] In two rounds, each holding everyone in suspense, France elected its new Parliament. The Government coalition retains a majority, with a 91 seat advantage over the leftist opposition. Even though the lead has been reduced by a few dozen seats, it has remained sufficient to assure the President of the Republic and the future Prime Minister strong support in the highest legislative bodies.

As we are writing these words, the President's immediate intentions towards the new government, as well as towards its program, remain still unknown. One thing is certain: Valery Giscard d'Estaing emerged from these elections the victor. The new majority, with better balanced proportion between the neo-Gaullist RPR (148 seats) and the presidential UDF (137 mandates), provides him with more freedom of maneuver and breathing space for the next few years.

On the other hand, the energetic Jacques Chirac was able to hold for the neo-Gaullists the position of the largest faction in the new National Assembly. Although the faction slightly decreased numerically (by 36 votes), it still retains its political strength and the electoral weight capable of controlling government policy.

In contest with the neo-Gaullist RPR, the UDF, or Union for French Democracy, arose hastily from the merger of three parties: the Republicans, under the leadership of J. P. Soisson; J. Lecanuet's Social-Democratic Center; and the Radicals, led by J. J. Servan-Schreiber. The question whether the UDF will maintain its position, and what the post-election French realities will be, is a question which the first session of the new Parliament will answer in the beginning of April.

The Left came out from these elections defeated, having lost the chance for a victory which seemed real and well within reach. It actually did increase the number of its seats in the new Parliament by over 20 (communists by 14,

socialists by 15), and controls 200 votes. This outcome was not expected either by the party leaders, or by the millions of voters who voted for the representatives of the three leftist parties both in the first as well as in the second round.

It is true that the French system of voting and the deliberate carving-up of electoral districts favors the party in power and works to the disadvantage of the opposition parties. It is true that these factors are partially responsible for the failure of the Left, which, let us not forget, received 49.5 per cent of the votes in the first round of the election.

If, however, that political strength of the Left, manifested in the first round, did not turn into corresponding power of the Left in Parliament, then the above reasons alone are not sufficient to explain the defeat. Its main cause--in the actual process of voting--was the lack of discipline among the leftist popular voters. They did not follow their political leaders, who on that unlucky Monday of March 13 signed an electoral platform agreement, and they did not shift all of their votes to the alliance leftist candidates in the second round. Moreover, electoral discipline failed not only in the Socialist Party's constituency, but also in the ranks of the Communist Party, which had displayed exemplary obedience and discipline in the past. Even if G. Marchais' pre-electoral estimate, expressing his hope that the Left would have a chance at 270 seats in the second round, could have been recognized as exaggerated and calculated to have a mobilizing effect, still, given the average discipline among leftist voters, one might have expected the allies of this camp to gain 30-odd seats more than they actually won. What happened was worse than had been feared. Not only did the Left's potential victory slip through its fingers, but its power among the masses was not adequately reflected in the composition of the new Parliament.

A hasty search for the answer to the question, Why did this happen?, leads to that dramatic night of September 22, 1977, when delegates from the three leftist parties--signatories of the Common Program--parted in misunderstanding and mutual accusations regarding the responsibility for the rupture of the negotiations and for the fiasco of the attempt to update the Common Program.

The notion which leaders of the Left proudly called "the dynamic unity" and which found affirmation in the growing leftist influence in each successive election lapsed because of differences of opinions in the matter of the Common Program's updating and caused the collapse of this dynamics.

Six months of public polemics, of mutual accusations on the radio and at mass-meetings, polemics that continued up to the first round election, could not be erased from the memories of popular voters in the second, Sunday election.

The summit meeting of the leftist party leaders on the day after the first round, which in the span of three hours was able to resolve matters unresolvable in the previous six months, did not gain a greater confidence in its credibility among the electors. The alliance of the Left, hurriedly concluded and sealed with a televised handshake between the formerly quarrelsome

adversaries, looked too much like a show and had too little persuasive power to mobilize the masses. All the more so, since the matter of updating the Common Program--which caused the break-up of the former dialog among the leftist parties--was postponed indefinitely in the declaration signed on March 13, and remained a potential bone of contention for the future.

Mitterand and the socialists emerged from these elections the principal losers. They miscalculated their own influence in the first balloting, when they hoped to win 27 percent of the vote, or even more, and thus appear the strongest political faction not only among the Left, to whom they would dictate the conditions of cooperation, but also in all of France. As a result, they received 22.5 per cent of the popular vote, a few points less than they had expected, and a fraction less than Chirac's neo-Gaullists won in the first round.

They also miscalculated in the second round, after which they expected (in spite of everything) a significant increase in their representation in the new National Assembly. They came out of this round with but a slightly larger delegation. This established them only as the third political power: after the neo-Gaullists, who despite some losses kept first place, and after the representative strength of the deputies united in the UDF.

Mitterand and R. Fabre's deep disappointment, expressed in declarations made upon learning about the unfavorable results, placed on the agenda not only the issue of historical responsibility for unfulfilled hopes, but also the problem of further shape of the united leftist front.

The leader of the left-radicals renounced his party's participation in the Common Program, and the leadership of the Socialist Party, as this is being written, has met in general session to analyze the causes of defeat and to plot a future course of action. After years of collaboration which led, in mid-1972, to the signing of the Common Program, and consequently to the rising influence of the leftist parties in each subsequent election, one thing is certain: the recent elections disintegrated the dynamic unity and set it back to the starting point.

Nevertheless, although these elections have not brought the Left its anticipated success in Parliament, they have served to confirm its ever-growing influence in French society. This influence manifested itself in the number of votes cast in the first round for the leftist parties and thus for the program of reforms.

When President Giscard d'Estaing entered the Elysee Palace, he announced his support for the reform program and for the continuation of the state political structure. However, continuity more than reforms marked the first years of his seven-year presidential term. The President's aides tried to find a justification for this state of affairs in the configuration of forces in the previous National Assembly, which blocked his initiatives. The new composition of the National Assembly brings forth--as noted earlier--changes benefitting the presidential camp, changes providing the Elysee Palace with greater freedom to maneuver. In any case, these changes do away, to a great degree, with the pretext camouflaging the lack of reforms. The President obtained this persuasive majority within a parliamentary configuration favoring him three years before the expiration of his term. Perhaps he will be willing to use it properly.

POLAND

GIEREK ADDRESSES SEJM MEETING ON FAMILY

Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Jun 78 LD

[Speech by Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to a meeting of scientists and political and social activists at the SEJM on 26 June--recorded]

[Text] We are meeting at the building of the SEJM of the Polish People's Republic in order to discuss together problems connected with the development and functions of the Polish family. We are meeting at a time of particularly great significance for our people: 2 days ago, on 24 June, the 35 millionth citizen of our country was born in Wroclaw.

Before we became--with regard to the number of our population--the 23rd state in the world and the 7th in Europe, our people had to recoup serious losses caused by the Nazi occupation and World War II. Most of the people who perished were young, which had also its definite significance for biological development.

At present the Polish people is, like never before, an ethnically unified society, biologically rejuvenated and buoyant. The centuries of the development of the Polish people have contributed to the attainment of the (?present state). However, the years of people's Poland have been marked by particular dynamics.

The development of the people means chiefly the development of the family. We regard it as the basic social cell, in which moral unjunctions and principles of social coexistence are shaped. This is why at the inspiration of our party the family is embraced by the respect and care of the state. Changes concerning the importance of the family in socialist society introduced into the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, and also into the labor code and family and guardianship code, are serving this purpose.

A family has a principal role in the upbringing of the young generation and shaping its patriotism, ethical and moral attitudes, respect for work and life's ambitions and cultural aspirations. That is why, at the inspiration

of our party, families in the People's Republic of Poland are surrounded by respect and given assistance from the state.

Changes which deal with the ranking of family in a socialist society and which have been introduced into the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland and to its labor code and family and guardianship code, serve this purpose. Those changes insure assistance to motherhood and bringing up of young people. The changes also allocate duties to the authorities, state institutions and citizens's and social organizations in this respect.

We have tried to do a lot for the family and the creation of a proper climate for families. Especially in the seventies, a clear and noticeable improvement in living and working conditions has taken place. At the initiative of our party program for the development and reform of education, house-building, protection of health, development of agricultural production and the nation's diet are being implemented, as well as the resolution concerning tasks of the nation and the state in bringing up young people and their participation in the construction of socialist Poland.

The act of law, which is of historic importance for inhabitants of villages, concerns protection of health, provisions for pensions and old-age pensions and other benefits to farmers and their families. Already today all working people can take advantage of free medical care and provisions for old-age security. We have introduced credits for young married couples in order to reduce housing problems. There will be 100,000 housing-list apartments built.

We also take care to develop training and care establishments. The dynamic economic development of the country makes it possible to expand the functions of the specialized work establishments. A significant development of medical care and preventive care for mothers, children and youth has taken place. This has brought about beneficial changes in the state of health of children and young people.

The infant mortality rate has decreased to a significant extent.

We attach ever increasing importance to rational rest for working people and their families in our social policy.

All this defines not only the present situation of Polish families but also the character of our policy.

There are still, however, in our lives and in the functioning of our families, problems which require solutions and which cause some anxiety for us. These are the phenomena which must be actively counteracted and removed. What matters are we dealing with here above all? We have a high birth rate but the growing tendency for domination of one-child or two-children families is disquieting. The high level of births and the population growth which is linked with it are not the result of advantageous changes in the number of children per family, but are the result of an increasing number of young

married couples. The professional activeness of women indicates that there is still a need for comprehensive solving of matters aimed at making it easier for the working families to perform parental functions. This includes apartments, nurseries, kindergartens, services and goods which make it easier to run a home.

In Poland the institution of marriage is, happily, a lasting one, and we are very glad of this. There are fewer divorces in Poland than in other countries; for 1,000 inhabitants we have 1.1 divorces: this figure in other countries is from 1.6 to 4.6. But in Poland the general tendency for our divorce rate to increase is giving concern; the number of divorces among workers and peasants is also increasing. The effect conciliation courts have on the divorce rate is also low and amounts to 6 percent of all cases, and about 60 percent of divorcing couples have young children, something which is bound to cause concern.

Among the socially most negative phenomena which affect the family is alcoholism, social maladjustment, juvenile crime, offenses against the family, the growing number of cases in which maintenance is awarded by courts, and the growing number of children in care of juvenile courts.

The number of older people who have passed their productive age is growing. For our social policy this indicates growing tasks in providing old-age pension benefits, appropriate forms of health care and in the development of the system of service facilities. There is a growing need for cooperative old people's homes and accomodation which would provide medical services and feeding, cultural and other facilities.

We are also faced with the problem of preparing the right kind of care, made necessary by the anticipated rural changes, for elderly people in our rural areas.

There are also numerous problems linked with the continued need for integration of efforts of all interested parties and in particular those of the family, the school and social organization, in working out more effective forms of didactic activity among children and younger people.

I have sketched out only some of the problems and matters affecting the family and its correct functioning. You esteemed citizens and comrades are people who are engaged in these complicated and many-sided social problems, and this is why I appreciate highly the fact that you wanted to come to this meeting today, and that you will no doubt want to speak up and voice your own opinion in this respect.

I would also like to hear your views on the Politburo suggestion to appoint a team of experts to prepare a report on problems facing the Polish family, and also all your proposals in this matter, because I want to tell you that such a proposal is at present actively being considered. This will do for

a start. May I now invite you most sincerely to speak up and to consider jointly this important problem, the problem of the Polish family, its durability, its contribution to the development of our people, to the process of strengthening all that is best in our socialist fatherland.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

DISSIDENT PAUL GOMA APPRAISES CEAUSESCU

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 29 May 78 pp 143-146

[Article by Romanian dissident Paul Goma, a writer who has lived in Paris since November 1977: "'Created in His Own Image'"]

[Text] It was a privilege reserved for bourgeois politicians, and occasionally fascist dictators, to appear grotesque in public--until Krushchev came on the scene.

But Nikita Krushchev's shenanigans came to an abrupt end; the party did not permit such behavior. Now a new clown has entered the arena: Nicolae Ceausescu; but Nicolae is not a descendant of Nikita. Krushchev--may he rest in peace!--was a mushik, a peasant--unpolished but sometimes gracious, a hothead with a sense of humor, a man of flesh and blood and therefore fallible, even if his little games brought the world to the brink of a catastrophe.

Ceausescu, on the other hand, is no mushik; he is not unpolished, let alone a hothead. Jokes are not part of his nature, he has no sense of humor, he is not gracious and, unlike any other normal person, never makes a mistake.

Though born into a peasant family, Ceausescu has no peasant characteristics--good or bad. He is a clever, rigid aparatchik who knows what strings to pull and how to pull them. And he lacks all education.

After becoming general secretary of the Communist Party (not elected, but appointed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej!), Ceausescu with considerable astuteness seized all the power. He became president of the republic, chairman of the Council of State, supreme commander of the armed forces and consultant of numerous committees and commissions dealing with agriculture, folklore, antiflood measures, the arts and sciences and helping old ladies across the street. He has a hand in everything; he is omnipresent.

One day he heard that Decebal had fought against the Roman invasion, just as Vlad the Pile Dweller, Stefan the Great and Michael the Brave had fought against the Turkish occupiers.

Such stories were to his liking--so much so that he decided to become a legend in his own time. (For he realized that history is always written by those in power.) That way he would be able to continue the line of patriotic rulers. For was he not resisting the Russians, if only in the imagination of the West?

So Ceausescu had a scepter made for himself. According to rumors, he even considered having himself crowned, but Bokassa stole a march on him.

In any case, Ceausescu is a European apparatchik who knows full well that in our century a monarch has new opportunities of displaying majestic brilliance, particularly through the mass media. Thanks to an obsequious press, he created himself in his own image.

Under his necktie allegedly beats "the brave heart of the most Romanian of all Romanians." His hat (occasionally also his cap) covers a "treasure of universal intellectual heritage."

Appearances can deceive. Ceausescu is probably the only citizen in socialist Romania who has not benefited from the campaign against illiteracy--which explains why he can hardly write, why he reads as if he were splitting wood with a spade, why his speeches--in his mother tongue, Romanian--cause derision through his beloved country. Ceausescu has received honorary doctor's degrees from various prestigious universities; he is a "member of the Academy" and the "vigilant conscience of the present, the creator of a constructive and just policy for all peoples of the world."

I did not invent any of these attributes: they can be found in the (Romanian) press.

The issue of the Bucharest "cultural" journal FIACARA of 26 January 1978 is a good example of how the media present Ceausescu. The front page is graced by a large picture of him, with a headline in red "Long Life and Good Health to the Steersman of Our Nation!" On the left of the picture is a poem about Ceausescu dedicated to Ceausescu. The journal contains 24 pages, with not a single article, not a single photo dealing with anything but Ceausescu.

Romanians are Romanians--that is, a clever people with a pronounced sense of humor.

But this humor is beginning to dwindle. Ten years of circus and comic opera, in which the superclown invariably takes himself seriously and causes others to follow his example and to praise him--that is too much, that becomes boring after a while.

While extolling himself as the "personification of freedom of thought and freedom of opinion," Ceausescu is systematically destroying whatever is still left of Romanian culture.

Ceausescu has built up the most cruel police system in all of Eastern Europe since Stalin's death. Yet the journal FLACARA prints huge headlines proclaiming the present era as standing "under the Ceausescu sign of renewal."

Thus we learn--not just we Romanians but all inhabitants of this globe--that we are living under the sign of Ceausescu.

With the bit of humor that has been left them the Romanians have found another word for it--the sign of "catastrophescu," an allusion to three catastrophes during his rule, two floods and one earthquake.

People in the West have little interest in what the Romanians think. They call Ceausescu a "little David confronting the giant Goliath." They have shaken his hand, offered him money and technology and courted him.

So what could be more natural than for Ceausescu himself to believe that the whole world is living under his sign?

How on earth can the West be so blind.

8790

CSO: 8120/1824

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Chesa is relieved of his position as deputy minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets and appointed deputy minister of the metallurgical industry and director general of the Galati iron and steel industrial central. Comrade Costache Trotus is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the metallurgical industry and appointed deputy minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 4, 14 Jun 78 p 5]

DEPUTY MINISTER APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Militaru is appointed deputy minister of industrial construction. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 46, 7 Jun 78 p 6]

CSO: 2700

RESULTS OF SERBIAN PARTY ELECTIONS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 78 p 7 AU

[Dusan Drazic, Dara Vucinic and Milica Torov report on elections at the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia in Belgrade on 31 May]

[Excerpts] The following were elected members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia:

Husamedin Azemi, Dusan Alimpic, Dragomir Arsenijevic, Ismailj Bajrami, Mahmut Bakali, Momcilo Baljak, Milica Beljic, Miroslav Belovic, Pal Benak, Milka Biga, Dr Novica Blagojevic, Jasmina Bogdanovic, Slobodan Bojanic, Saban Bojniku, Nada Bokan, Dobrivoje Boskovic, Djuro Brdar, Savka Botic, Vukoje Bulatovic, Ratko Butulija, Dobrila Basiljevic, Danica Velickovic, Miloško Veljovic, Josip Vidakovic, Dobrivoje Vidic, Momcilo Vicentijevic, Milica Vlastic, Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, Jovan Vujic, Lazar Vujovic, Mirko Vukelic, Nikola Vukicevic, Budimir Vukasinovic, Radomir Vulic, Milovan Gavrilovic, Spiro Galovic, Radisa Gacic, Dusan Gligorijevic, Erzebet Godic, Jovanka Gregovic, Gunga Fahredin, Antun Rajc, Nadire Daci, Margita Deak-Belog, Venko Dimitrov, Krcun Dragovic, Dragoljub Dragosan, Sreten Djuric, Zoran Djurkovic, Karolj Erdelji, Miloslav Zdravkovic, Vladimir Zeljic, Radisav Zecevic, Slavko Zecevic, Eduard Ile, Jancista Iljehamije, Smiljana Jankovic, Stoiljko-Stole Jankovic, Sima Jovanovic, Risto Jovanovic, Dr Vladimir Jovicic, Mihajlo Katona, Ljubinko Kesegic, Istvan Keckes, Zivorad Kovacevic, Savo Komadinic, Macas Kosorus, Pavle Krtenic, Bosko Kronic, Ilijaz Kurtesi, Zivotije Lazarevic, Dr Branka Lazic, Svetomir Lalovic, Ljubisav Lilic, Ana Makan, Marija Maricic, Zoran Macura, Dragan Mijajlovic, Dr Vaso Milicevic, Milka Minic, Milomir Minic, Dragomir Milojevic, Miroslav Milisavljevic, Ziva Mitro, Zivorad Misic, Rista Mladenovic, Vasa Neskovic, Milorad Nikolic, Milos Nikolcin, Tomislav Nikolic, Lajos Olah, Dr Zivana Olbina, Dr Vujadin Otasevic, Milan Pavkovic, Milutin Pavlovic, Dr Zarko Papic, Miodrag Pancic, Radoman Perkovic, Zdravko Petrovic, Dragoljub-Rade Petrovic, Milomir Petrovic, Dr Miloslav Pecujlic, Branko Pesic, Dusanka Pjevac, Radivoje Pribakovic, Radenko Puzovic, Milija Radovanovic, Dragoman Radojicic, Slavica Radic, Djordje Radosavljevic, Novak Repac, Novak Rodic, Djura Savovic, Dr Kurtess Saliu, Zivan

Svircevic, Bajram Selimi, Henrik Selic, Tankosava Simic, Marica Stamenkovic, Ivan Stambolic, Dr Fauda Stankovic, Viobran Stanojevic, Radosav Stanojcic, Zivota Stevanovic, Dr Svetomir Stozinic, Slobodanka Stojanovic, Jon Srbovan, Rajko Tanaskovic, Bogdan Tankosic, Mirko Tatic, Marija Todorovic, Istvan Tot, Svetislav Trajkovic, Avdi Trmkoli, Zorica Ceran, Ilija Cupurdija, Bozo Curkovic, Slavko Ugljesic, Ajsa Hasimbegovic, Dedo Hasimbegovic, Dusan Ckrebic, Dr Mihajlo Cemerikic, Dzemail Dzibo, Nikola Sainovic and Zorica Strbac.

The following were elected members of the Commission for Statutory Questions of the League of Communists of Serbia:

Vukoje Arsic, Musa Baljeci, Radomir Banjac, Pavle Brankovic, Slavko Veselinov, Luka Vlahovic, Radmila Dedijer, Rajko Dimitrijevic, Grozdan Djukanovic, Dzemail Kijevcanin, Mile Krza, Drobrila Krstev, Jose Mijatov, Gasi Nebi, Ljubica Ognjanovic, Nenad Panic, Aleksandar Perid, Nikola Piroski, Laslo Pozar, Radomir Radivojevic, Aleksandar Radonjic, Bejta Rusten, Selim Selimi, Dobrila Stanimirovic, Dobrila Terzic, Katarina Castven and Miljan Coguric.

Pavle Brankovic was elected president and Luka Vlahovic secretary of the statutory commission.

The following were elected members of the Supervisory Commission of the League of Communists of Serbia:

Dr Veljko Vujicic, Gvozden Jevremovic, Miodrag Movanovic, Mihailo Milenkovic, Milosav Milojevic, Sulejman Musa, Muhamed Muhamedagic, Srecko Nedeljkovic, Laza Pavlicevic, Zivojin Pavlovic, Ankica Pajkic, Vladimir Petrovic, Slobodanka Roksic, Ida Sabo and Hodza Tafilj.

Srecko Nedeljkovic was elected new president of the commission, while Gvozden Jevremovic is secretary of the commission.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

COURT EXPERTISE SYSTEM IN NEED OF REFORM

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonia 26 May 78 p 2

/Article by V. Tulevski/

/Text/ At times it happens that with the first findings of the judge and the investigation, a person is accused of embezzling a sum of 444,860 dinars, and because of careless work he also is accused of economic damages of 348,417 dinars. In the course of the court procedures, another expert witness may declare that there was no embezzlement, but only damages through careless work in the amount of 450,666 dinars. The sentence follows: 11 years in prison. But the case does not end there. In the appeal procedure the Macedonian Supreme Court overturns the original judgement and, with new expertise, establishes the disputed figure to be 149,000 dinars. Because of the uncertainties in this finding, a new expert witness is brought in, and finally the court indicates a new correction and the sum of 37,000 dinars. The new sentence states 2 years 6 months in prison, and the accused has already served 23 months.

This example of court practice unambiguously shows the seriousness of expertise in the court process, particularly when matters of material and financial operations are involved. Thus it is not by chance that informed observers of the situation in jurisprudence have the firm conviction, expressed in numerous conferences and specialists' gatherings, that expertise is one of the chief reasons for delays in court proceedings and for the decline in the effectiveness of jurisprudence and court prosecution here in Yugoslavia.

In practice, it is said, the court always wants help from experts. That means from people with established specialized training and qualities who are obliged, so to speak, to dig through the accounts and the archives and to use their findings to note those essential elements that should be presented as evidence to show the actual situation, upon which a great deal depends, including frequently the eventual court decision.

In the republic of Macedonia the court engages experts as colleagues receiving honoraria, in accordance with the need at hand, from the appropriate organization of associated labor. Not rarely, the experts are pensioners who are

trained so that they can be entrusted with such an assignment and similar ones. A large number of various cases, however, require numerous statements from experts before the court, and recently that has been emerging as a particular problem. In practical terms, there are frequent instances when experts refuse to carry out their responsibilities, at times presenting a whole series of objective reasons. Often the justification heard is that because of such engagements they are transferred in their labor organization and their personal income is reduced. There are also those who do not want to offend persons involved in a case. That all naturally complicates the work of the courts, and such enforced assignments are reflected in the quality of the expert findings and opinions. Perhaps justifiably, from that source comes the fact that in some materials the expertise is personalized, unprofessional, disorganized and lacking in specialized knowledge. In addition there is the problem that expertise is complicated by another factor which certainly should not be minimized. Specifically, the investigating judge who directs the investigation and the gathering of expert opinions is often insufficiently precise in assigning concrete tasks to the expert so that the latter goes into great breadth in his research, loses time, and burdens the proceedings themselves.

Keeping all this in mind, along with the fact that expertise as a method of evidence finds enormous application in the legal process, it becomes clear that it is urgent that some organized efforts be made to reform this situation. Without doubt much thought has already been directed at the problem, and the delegates of the Macedonian Assembly, in considering the necessity of some such action, last year passed a law for the establishment and functioning of a republic institute for legal expertise in the areas of financial and material operations and transportation. The Secretariat for Jurisprudence considers that all the preliminary work for the forming of such an institute has been completed, and they are only waiting for a few formalities. Of course, its contribution will be very important in changing the situation and overcoming the problems of expertise; this has been the experience with similar institutes in other Yugoslav republics. Perhaps for that reason, we should move rapidly to take care of those slight formalities upon which so much is waiting.

12131

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

TEACHER REBUKED FOR ATTITUDE TOWARD EASTER EGGS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1427, 14 May 78 p 9

/Article by Jug Grizelj: "The 18 Sinners"/

/Text/ Many people think that it all began with the so-called Ten Commandments. Subsequently, as society developed, the number of commandments also increased, until we reached the level of a civilized society in which, those who are knowledgeable claim, each living human being has a share of roughly 10,000 different commandments and prohibitions. All of these prohibitions, of course carry sanctions, which have also been estimated: the average person seriously violates the prescribed regulations and prohibitions at least five times during his lifetime, and bears the legal consequences five times as well.

No one has kept a statistical record of the number of violators of the unwritten laws of human behavior. It is nevertheless easy to assume that the violation of the so-called moral laws is both more frequent and more dangerous, particularly because it most often remains unsanctioned.

Hence, the progressiveness and moral stability of a community are evaluated not only by the number and seriousness of violators of the unwritten laws, but perhaps, primarily on the basis of how frequently and seriously, even if by unconscious actions, one jeopardizes an unwritten morality, basic humanity, and personal integrity.

The type of violator whose transgression is the subject of the following lines is very dangerous primarily because the violation of morality laws is a part of his subconsciousness. In addition, the social danger resulting from this type of behavior has a specific seriousness because it is also fertilized daily, continuously and innumerable times, through the cultivation of a particular mentality. The true malignity of this behavior brings a supplemental burden--primarily because it is practiced in the name of progress and orthodoxy.

But, let us proceed to the story. This year May Day was on a Monday. On Tuesday we celebrated the second day of May Day, while on Wednesday we all

went back to work and the children to school. And now: May Day was on Monday, Easter was the week before, and Saturday was--presumably Easter Saturday. In one of the Belgrade elementary schools the first-grade teacher met the students after the holiday and initiated a contact discussion about who went where during the holiday, how they spent their time, whether they enjoyed themselves, etc. The first-graders, mommy's heroes, who, as a rule, and rightly so, perceive the teacher as their miniature God, were animated by the opportunity to share their holiday experiences with their miniature God. At one point, when the children had relaxed and felt free, and, according to the teacher's opinion, opened their hearts, she proceeded to the main topic.

And the main topic, indeed, still in the form of a friendly conversation and chatting, was--Easter eggs. The teacher, sweet, dear, and trusting--had, as if incidentally, suggested: "Let us count all of those who had dyed eggs at home." The children, trusting and naive, had raised their hands. Exactly 18 of them! Half and half. They had even begun to compete over who could be the first to tell the teacher what kinds of pictures they had on their eggs, and how they dyed them.

At that point the teacher changed the rules of the game. From a participant and a friend--she became a judge. For the rest of the period she was the only one who spoke. She spoke about how unbecoming it is for a socialist citizen to dye eggs, that it is outgrown and primitive, and most of all, the ones whose parents dye eggs could not be Pioneers. After frightening them with visions of the horrible sin in which they had taken part, as well as by sanctions of being excluded from society, our teacher let the children go home. Probably happy and satisfied with her red behavior.

Undoubtedly, this woman was sincerely convinced that her action had contributed to the shaping of the image of a socialist citizen, that she had acted in a humanistic and progressive fashion, pointing out to the first-graders all of the profound consequences which they might experience as a result of practicing religious customs.

What offers interesting possibilities for comprehension is a social-psychological, as it is now fashionable to say, analysis of the origin of such actions on the part of educators. Let us set pedagogy aside at this point. The problem is even more profound: What nourishes and stimulates such a spirit and mentality?

It would be even more exciting to find out how frequent it is, because it is not infrequent as a mere remnant of a spirit. The remnant of a spirit which believes quite sincerely that order and peace, progress and the future, and, indeed, socialism as well, can be implemented most rapidly by--threats, coercion, denunciation, and a firm hand. It is a spirit which is continuously resurrected--despite the spirit of our society--in the form of dogmatic pressure to introduce fear as a method of persuasion, and which

would rather see people transformed into numbers and machines. Numbers and machines which are controlled in a progressive mode.

Unfortunately this is still not the end of the story, significant precisely because it originates in the world of small people and has small dimensions which are nonetheless multiplied. It also has a supplement. And one does not know what to say: Is it the story or its supplement which is sadder? The boy whose parents told me this story, with the names of the specific teacher and the school, asking me to squeeze it into the paper, also told me how their son had behaved. The little fellow, being sharp and wise, had immediately and instinctively sensed the danger of the teacher's questions and therefore had not raised his hand, although they had dyed eggs in his home as well. He was the 19th, yet the uncounted one--and the smartest. He had not raised his hand, explaining this to his parents in the following way: "I was looking at her eyes and saw that something was wrong, so I said to myself: 'Friend, keep your hand on the desk. Who knows, it might be better.'"

8989

CSO: 2800

11

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

AID TO PLO--Three ambulances, medicines, medical equipment and food have arrived in Beirut as Yugoslav humanitarian aid to the PLO. The total value of the consignment to the Palestinian refugees amounts to about 1.2 million dinars. [Text] [Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Jun 78 AU]

CSO: 2800

END